

# The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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Number 10.

PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER, 1917.

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# War Supplements

TO

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## Democracy and War

BY PROFESSOR J. G. RANDALL, ROANOKE COLLEGE.

### I.

This is a day of pamphleteers. One of the effects of the Great War upon an age of intellectual fermentation has been to produce a mass of brochures and articles dealing with the fundamentals of philosophy and politics. Like England in the seventeenth century and America and France in the eighteenth, the world to-day is striving for a reinterpretation of political creeds and feeling its way toward safer philosophical conceptions.

In former ages of active pamphleteering, multitudes of short treatises have poured forth from high and low, all dealing with the one great theme which occupied the focus of attention. So to-day there seems to be a converging of thought upon the international bearings of social philosophy. Scholars and thinkers everywhere have sought to make their appropriate contributions. Such elaborate discussions may produce little permanent literature, yet the extent of profound thinking which they betoken is of the highest significance. The Declaration of Rights of the Nations, a sort of international Declaration of Independence, promulgated by the Pan-American Scientific Congress, is so obviously reminiscent of Philadelphia in 1776 and Paris in 1789 that it may thrill us to look for another great Charter of Liberty as a product of these stirring times. We are agreed, I believe, that the next great charter must be in the international field, and that we are now living in the "old regime" so far as international politics are concerned.

If the reader is content with this veiled apology for presuming to offer another pamphlet (i. e., magazine article) on the familiar subject, "Democracy and War," we may now proceed to the examination of some of the points preliminary to the discussion. Let us notice at the outset that the terms democracy and monarchy suggest a false simplicity of classification. To attempt to judge a nation, and predict its probable reactions according to its monarchical or democratic character, would lead only to the most superficial conclusions. There are many other important terms in the equation. It should be known, for instance, whether the nation has had a passive, protected existence, as China, or whether its career has been turbulent and strenuous. Do the citizens have ready access to land, as in the United States, or is land a monopoly of a small upper class, as in Mexico where millions of acres may be owned by one family? Are

important functions under the control of local authorities, as in England and the United States, or is the administration highly centralized and bureaucratic? Does the nation manifest self-restraint in averting internal revolutions, or do elections tend to produce wars? We would know, too, the nation's age. If a nation is young enough to have escaped the law of entail and is free from privileged orders, that is a more pregnant fact than its classification as a monarchy or a democracy. Better a land without traditions than one whose traditions hark back to Frederick the Great the plunderer, Napoleon the brigand, or Metternich the false stabilizer. Europe, with its inflexible social groupings, dynastic claims, racial antagonisms, national shibboleths, and frontier slogans, is in the cursed grasp of the past's dead hand: in short, Europe has inherited too much. And England, too, is not merely a "crowned republic," as Tennyson phrased it. Adopting Wells's expression (in *Tono-Bungay*) for English social exclusiveness, one might refer to England as a democracy touched with "Bladesovery." The entanglements of a nation's international obligations, the live principles of its diplomacy, the culture alliances which entail pledges of sympathetic wars (for a war as well as a strike may be sympathetic), the suitability of the nation's intellectual climate for the incubation of that *rara avis* the "international mind"—these factors must not be obscured, for they are essential to our problem. In fine, we must not make of "democracy" a catch phrase.

A clearing of the ground is, indeed, needed regarding notions of democracy. It may be urged that public opinion rules in every modern form of state, monarchies included. In these days when Persia, Turkey and China have their "constitutions," it may appear that unlimited monarchy is obsolete. Professor Hasbach (writing in the "American Political Science Review" for February, 1915), urges that you cannot make supremacy of public opinion the essential of democracy—this, he says, is like calling the circulation of the blood the essential characteristic of the species man. It is true, of course, that in a modern monarchy the sovereign regards the people's will, while in the modern democracy much of what we call public opinion is the result of artificial stimulation, and may at times be disregarded by representatives. For our purpose, however, and to avoid quibbling (without claiming finality for

cur definitions) let us think of democracy as effective popular rule. A democratic state, as conceived of in this article, is a people politically organized and served by a government of its choosing, and a monarchy is a people ruled by a sovereign and a ministry not fully responsible. England would thus be essentially a democracy, and particularly are its reactions toward war characteristically democratic. Mexico under Diaz, though formally a democracy, would be virtually a monarchy. The same should perhaps be said of the "republic" of China under Yuan Shih-Kai. The United States, Switzerland, France, and the "A B C" states of South America would answer fully to the definition of democracies, while Germany, old Russia, Austria, Japan and Turkey would be monarchical types. Such a state as Greece would be hard to classify, since its sovereign has much real power, yet its democratic spirit is very much alive. England, whose king is a mere "glorified rubber stamp"—a restricted being who cannot freely choose his own wife or butler,<sup>1</sup> much less his ministers—is definitely out of the class of real monarchies. In our complex world, monarchies shade off into democracies, as in Norway, but it is illogical to consider a distinction untrue because it "breaks down at the border," and if we set the monarchical norm over against the democratic norm, we shall, I believe, find them mutually exclusive.

## II.

So considered, monarchies and democracies will be seen to present characteristic differences. Monarchical rulers do not indeed ignore public opinion; they control it. Whereas public opinion in a democracy is shaped and twisted by party leaders, party newspapers, and party bosses, in a monarchy it is shaped and twisted by the monarch and his obedient bureaucracy. Independent parties, motivated by real convictions on public issues, are stifled and disinherited. In Germany the Socialists, with over four million voters, were before the war denounced by the Kaiser as a "red danger" and as "enemies of the Fatherland," and were referred to in all seriousness by former Chancellor Bülow as having "no right to exist." During the war their existence, as Socialists, is indeed but shadowy. The manufacture of public opinion (can it be called such?) is laboriously promoted by the German government. By the official control of newspapers and elections, by the law of *lèse majesté*, by the use of patronage to swing votes in the Reichstag, by censorship of the press, by an elaborate police surveillance over public meetings, by bloc voting, by an unequal apportionment of legislative seats—by the cumulative effect of these and similar agencies the German monarchy dominates the state. Bismarck's defiance of the popular will in the memorable "conflict time," and Bethmann-Hollweg's indifference to the resolutions of the Reichstag point significantly to the location of the political center of

gravity in Germany.<sup>2</sup> The government does not bow to nor conciliate public opinion; it decides upon a suitable type of opinion, standardizes it, and refuses to allow any other opinion to become articulate. In spite of the spread of constitutionalism, upon which Professor Hasbach dwells, it would seem that, at least in a bureaucratic monarchy such as Germany, the supremacy of any genuine public opinion is impossible.

Examined with reference to his natural and immediate mental reactions toward government, a marked difference appears between the citizen of a monarchy and the prevailing democratic type. In a kingdom or empire the subject takes for granted the ruthless use of force, the conception of the people as politically incompetent, the notion of a king as an irresponsible being subject only to self-imposed limitations, the conception of the state as a dynastic patrimony, and of a constitution as a gift from the gracious sovereign to his "dear people." Such a mind questions free speech and popular restraint of government. The typical democrat takes for granted the modern idea that government emanates from the people (see primarily Milton, Locke, Hobbes and Jefferson, and secondarily Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu). The reasonableness of popular restraint of government, and the rightful claim to predominance on the basis of numerical majority, are axiomatic with him. On the other hand, he questions government by fear, prefers living comfortably to "living dangerously," discounts inquisitorial police methods, and abhors press censorship. In England, where monarchy is not taken seriously, it is significant that the only basis for censorship is to be found in the Defense of the Realm Act, a distasteful emergency measure; in Germany, where monarchy is taken seriously, the principle of such censorship is normal even in peace times. Americans would not tolerate executive interference with personal liberty in the case of the Alien and Sedition Acts, and they were not enforced, but it would not occur to the German (of the dominant type) to question such methods.

The democrat tends to think of the men who compose the government as servants, while the subject of a king tends to think of them as masters, or, at best, guardians. A monarchical government may, indeed, serve the interests of its people, as in the case of the Roman *panem et circenses* or the state socialism of modern Germany, but there is a vast difference between serving the people's interests and serving their will. A guardian, in serving the interests of his ward, denies by that very act the competency of the ward to make independent decisions. So a paternalistic government may take various measures of its own to insure the people's well-being without for a moment admitting either the people's right or their ability to select appropriate measures for the promotion of well-

<sup>1</sup> The Queen cannot be a Catholic, and the Lord Chamberlain must be politically acceptable.

<sup>2</sup> See W. W. Willoughby, "The Relation of the Individual to the State," in "Problems of Readjustment After the War" (New York, Appleton, 1915).

fare, or even properly to conceive in what direction welfare lies.

Stevenson thus characterized a well-known type: "Some people swallow the universe like a pill." There are folks who question nothing, protest at nothing, but complacently acquiesce in whatever befalls them. The unprotesting citizen, who takes the government's word as the law and the prophets, is a more familiar type in a monarchy than in a democracy. Real opinion, of the sort not governmentally inspired, has been, in some monarchies, so long ineffective that the power to think politically has either become atrophied or has been perverted into radicalism.

For this reason, it may fairly be questioned whether a nation can be itself under a monarchy. Where popular rule is not effective, it is more than doubtful whether a nation can live its true life. As Frederic Harrison has pointed out, France was dictatorial under Napoleon III, and yet it could hardly be maintained that this was the real France.<sup>3</sup> If the spontaneous liberal movement of 1848 represented the real Germany, as many believe, then the present Kaiser's *Deutschland* is not genuinely German. The two are as far apart as the poles. There is an artificial motivation of a nation's forces in the case of a monarchy which leads easily to a perversion of its real spirit.

### III.

Before proceeding further, lest an excess of democratic enthusiasm may lead us astray, let us set it down that no existing state presents more than a rough approximation to the democratic ideal. Actual democracies are too often marred by narrow opportunism. Franklin, for instance (whom we should honor more as a citizen than as a sage), never rose above mere common-sense philosophy. Poor Richard's whole gospel is to get along in the world; one looks in vain for inspiring idealism. There is a cold practicality, a selfishness, a lack of vision, which has often characterized the American's philosophy of life, affecting, of course, his government. "Habit without philosophy," as Plato called it, is too likely to be a democratic fault. The impulse to "do things" and achieve success, with no broad vision of a great cause to be furthered or a noble purpose to be served, is a weakness of republics.

We should lament our democratic cock-sureness regarding the finality of such terms as "liberty," "education," and "progress." G. K. Chesterton, to whose genial orthodoxy we must often bow, put it thus: "We are fond of talking about 'progress'; that is a dodge to avoid discussing what is good. . . . The modern man says, . . . 'Neither in religion nor morality, my friend, lie the hopes of the race, but in education.' This, clearly expressed, means, 'We cannot

decide what is good, but let us give it to our children.' . . . Nobody can be progressive without being doctrinal, . . . without believing in some infallibility. For progress by its very name indicates a direction; and the moment we are in the least doubtful about the direction, we become in the same degree doubtful about the progress. . . . It is not merely true that the age which has settled least what is progress is this 'progressive' age. It is, moreover, true that the people who have settled least what is progress are the most 'progressive' people in it."<sup>4</sup>

Democracies are, besides, not free from that irrational inference which Graham Wallas has so engagingly brought to our attention.<sup>5</sup> Many thousands of American voters are hereditarily Republicans or geographically Democrats. A party banner or a campaign song may swing more votes than arguments or principles. The voter at the fireside, in whose hands President Garfield, in a well-known passage, was content to rest the destiny of the nation, may take his ideas from partisan headlines and cartoons. Snobishness is not always absent from democracies, as witness the self-importance of petty naval officers in America. There are still many sinister elements in American political life. Our democracy has produced the Declaration of Independence, the Philadelphia Constitution, the federal system, the civil service law, national conservation, and the Monroe Doctrine. But it has also created railroad frauds, the Philippine "water cure," predatory trusts, unspeakable municipal graft, bought elections, and police-protected vice. Tweed, Croker and Barnes have been no less our rulers than Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. The invisible government, irresponsible but all powerful, has kept a strong grip upon the political machinery of our states and cities, and boss control has even touched the White House. It will be well to qualify all our deductions regarding democracy with the reflection that no form of rule can obliterate human nature.

### IV.

An immense question, which is fundamental to our inquiry, concerns the attitude of democracies toward foreign affairs. It would require considerable twisting of the evidence to argue that democracies take an intelligent, rational interest in international policy. We readily recall how many Americans remarked, when the "Lusitania" went down, "Oh well, they shouldn't have sailed on a British ship." We do not forget that a great American merchant advanced the preposterous proposal that business interests here should "purchase" Belgium from Germany to present it to the Belgian people, nor that one of our most democratic millionaires carried over a hundred highly respected Americans to Europe on a Ship of Peace whose quixotic voyage, unaccompanied by an organ-

<sup>3</sup> Writing in 1866, Mr. Harrison referred to France as the "Latin Catholic revolutionary and dictatorial power." ("Realities and Ideals," p. 4.) There was less of the dictatorial character, and less blundering, in the foreign policy of France after the fall of the Emperor Napoleon III, and the establishment of the third republic.

<sup>4</sup> Chesterton, "On the Negative Spirit," in "Heretics," pp. 33, 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Graham Wallas, "Human Nature in Politics." (I am greatly indebted to Mr. Wallas for the rich suggestions in this book, and in "The Great Society.")



ized peace propaganda and unguided by any definite program, ended in merely exposing the helplessness of pacific sentiment as against the cold facts of actual war.

We realize how inarticulate has been the mass of kindly sentiment in the United States toward the Japanese, and how vocal the extreme views of a few Chauvinists who claim to see in the "yellow peril" a prophecy of another world-shaking war. Editors, we know, while not regarding international harmony and good-will as suitable material for headlines, will confront us with staggering articles when a Japanese corporation seeks a foothold in Magdalena Bay, or when a few Japanese vessels casually assemble off the Mexican coast in response to the distress signals of a stranded supply-ship. Our newspapers print at once too little and too much regarding foreign nations. There is no really adequate international news service for the United States, but our telegraph editors, taking the imperfect reports they have, often amplify and interpret and distort the news until the net result amounts to an absolute falsification. Unfortunately our newspaper editors are practically not responsible, except to the business firms whose advertisements nourish them. In the present war we have been regaled with many "fake" stories, announcing the purchase by the Kaiser of immense tracts of land in America as a future place of refuge, heralding the approach of a Russian force through England by way of Scotland and thence to the continent, describing that mysterious new chemical by which the French were able to transform the Germans into upright corpses, prophesying speedy starvation in Germany, informing the world of the resistance of Liege until the 14th of August when it really crumbled before the Teutonic guns on the 7th, etc. With such imperfect media of information, hardly better in quiet times than in times of upheaval, it would be a wonder indeed if the average American should arrive at reliable conclusions regarding the world's affairs.

On the administrative side, it seems all but hopeless effectively to democratize foreign policy. In the first stage of the "Lusitania" negotiations, all Americans looked to one man, the President, for the vindication of our honor. It is true that he took the people into his confidence at first by publishing the "notes"; but when the controversy had become more advanced, secret and less formal exchanges of views were substituted, with favorable results. The senate can ratify treaties, but the diplomatic corps, headed by the President with his Secretary of State, must (often with secrecy) conduct the real work of diplomacy in those critical stages which are preliminary to, or wholly apart from, treaties. When it is a question between a treaty and a war, the President may commit the country to the decision for war before the matter ever comes to the senate. Elections, as methods of gauging public sentiment on international problems, are out of the question, considering that they are periodically determined, and that the combination of domestic and foreign issues would be confusing. It

seems that we Americans must acquiesce in certain undemocratic processes in the control of foreign affairs, contenting ourselves with the thought that our Presidents are ultimately responsible to us, and that they are usually more pacific than our Congresses.

And yet, in spite of the lax interest of republics in external affairs, and the failure to democratize foreign policy, there are many rays of hope on the horizon. Secret diplomacy in the sinister sense, with all that it signifies of underhand intrigue, is conspicuously absent from our great democracies. The golden rule, which is the essence of Christian comity, has actually found a place in democratic diplomacy. As the men of Argentine and Chili gaze upon the noble form of the Christ of the Andes it must thrill them to reflect that the spirit of conciliation which the Nazarene taught has become embodied in new-world politics. That the United States should yield a point in the canal tolls controversy rather than offend a great nation with whom we had been at peace for a century is an appealing thought to those interested in the future of democracy. And the remission of the Chinese indemnity, which our Congress voted on the recommendation of President Roosevelt, speaks volumes for the cause of open-mindedness and Christian good-will in the affairs of nations.

The growing enthusiasm for pan-Americanism, made definite by arbitration treaties, and stimulated by inspiring congresses such as the notable gathering at Washington in December, 1915, is evidence that the republics of the western hemisphere are lifting international harmony from a mere sentiment to a program. Other "pan . . . isms" (such as the Slav and the German) may have a domestic basis in clanishness and a foreign basis in aggression, but pan-Americanism (though the word is perhaps unfortunate) is of a different type. It raises no menacing hand, and supports no external propaganda; it does not represent the militant merging of peoples on the basis of racial association. On the contrary, it overrides that prejudice which results from diversity of race and customs, and seeks merely a better attitude of the great American nations among themselves. Diplomacy may not yet have become popularized, but with the growth of democracy there has come a conquest of international jealousies which amounts to a veritable emancipation. To be a foreigner is to be a neighbor, not an alien.

## V.

Turning to the attitude of democracies toward broad questions of war and peace, we may venture the generalization that, in a democracy, war is unpremeditated and exceptional—merely a necessary evil, while in a monarchy it is likely to be regarded as normal. The disbandment of the immense Civil War army in the United States till it amounted to but a handful testified to our conception of war as abnormal. The uncertainty of aim which successive French ministries manifested regarding the fortification of the Franco-Belgian frontier indicated a lack of premeditation



touching a vital and definite war-hazard.<sup>6</sup> While it does not of course prove France to have been lacking in campaign plans, nor free from talk about the "next war," it nevertheless contrasts sharply with the steady calculation of Germany in studying Belgian forts and topography, converging her strategic railways upon the Belgian line, and laying schemes for a definite aggressive campaign. Though every European "power" kept up the miserable system of international espionage during peace times, there was in the elaborate German spy system a definiteness of aim which surpassed all other states—certainly there was no state under popular rule which equalled it. Such continuity of purpose, and such a vivid sense of the near prospect of a great war would hardly have been conceivable had Germany been a democracy.

There is a manifest dread on the part of monarchical governments regarding the interference of their peoples in war questions. Military and naval projects and war budgets have been carried through in spite of majority opposition in the legislature in such countries as Germany and Japan. Such a thing would be inconceivable in England or the United States.

Instances might be multiplied to show that democracies do not take military life so seriously as monarchies. Great American generals have been great civilians. Washington loved the farm better than the camp. Lee's greatest delight was at the fireside. Grant, Thomas, McClellan and Sherman, though trained at West Point, left the army from choice, and rejoined the service only at the outbreak of war. Grant, while ex-President, was once roughly handled by a New York policeman at a fire. Without revealing his identity he unresistingly followed the policeman's orders.<sup>7</sup> This was a small incident, but precisely because it shows that sort of conduct which we take for granted in this country, it is worth dwelling upon in our present discussion. Grant's behavior was characteristically American, but can it be supposed that in a militaristic monarchy a man of such high military rank would have meekly yielded to a subordinate? Would he not, on the contrary, have stood on his dignity and reported the officer for discipline? From the swaggering behavior of military officers in some of the continental monarchies toward mere civilians one would naturally conclude that war is regarded as the chief business of mankind, and that nothing is thought of as approaching the military career in importance. That the English should shove "Tommy" aside in quiet times, but furnish "Mr. Atkins" a special train "when the troop-ship's on the tide" may not seem particularly admirable, but it at least indicates that the English are free from illusions about the glory of the soldier's profession. Such a play as Shaw's "Arms and the Man" with its expo-

sure of the unmanly qualities in war, and its admirable satire on the "chocolate-cream soldier," is not so much needed in England as in the continental monarchies.

Was Kant right in arguing an essential harmony between a republican constitution and peace? Let us see. Dynastic interests, for one thing, are a familiar cause of war. Bulgaria was dragged by her intruding German king into a conflict against her traditional ally and protector, Russia, and in association with her traditional and recent enemy, Turkey. Had Bulgaria been a democracy there would have been a different story to tell. Bülow, writing of Bismarck's Polish policy, declared that rules of private morality do not apply to national conduct. It is not so easy to conceive of a democratic statesman openly appealing to such principles. A government responsible to its people would not have seriously considered precipitating the horrors of a world-war for such a conception as *Weltpolitik* tinged with Hohenzollern ambition.

On the contrary, the "open door" and the Monroe Doctrine are typical democratic slogans, and both of them are potent formulas of peace, since they narrow the areas of international friction, and remove large sections of the world from the grasping hands of the war-like "powers." Walter Lippman's timely proposal for permanent international commissions to police and control those weak spots of the world which cause friction (Morocco, the Congo, the Balkan peninsula, etc.), a form of internationalism which is the more valuable because it is not "spread out thin as a Parliament of Man," would be more likely to arouse support in the great democracies of the world than in the great monarchies.<sup>8</sup> A democracy may, as in the case of Switzerland, possess a substantial army, but preparedness, not conquest, is its aim. Though conquest seemed superficially to be the motive of the Americans in the Spanish war, yet the very definite intention of making the Philippines independent, and the sincerity of our disclaimer regarding the annexation of Cuba, enables us to say before the world that the war was fought for the realization of national ideals, not for the purpose of aggrandizement. Some Europeans have marvelled that the United States did not grasp the opportunity to seize Canada while England was engaged in the Great War. Such a preposterous motive could not be attributed to us except by those whose whole view of war and of international morality is fundamentally different from ours.

Bernhardi (whose book the Germans disclaim) argued that war is a "blessing" and a "duty," that "might is . . . the supreme right" (a direct quotation), that there is no function for international courts, that when relations become strained arbitration treaties "will burn like tinder and end in smoke" (the "scrap of paper" idea), that "the brutal incidents inseparable from every war vanish

<sup>6</sup> Belloc, "Elements of the Great War," 275-276.

<sup>7</sup> A full account of this incident is to be found in Riis, "The Making of an American" (Macmillan Standard Lib.), p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> Walter Lippman, "The Stakes of Diplomacy," chap. ix.

before the idealism of the main result," and that Christianity is itself "combative."

Bernhardi could write: "It was war which laid the foundations of Prussia's power. . . . War forged that Prussia, hard as steel, on which the new Germany could grow up as a mighty European state and a world power of the future. Here once more war showed its creative power. . . . The efforts directed toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish, but absolutely immoral. . . . It is proposed to obviate the great quarrels between nations and states by Courts of Arbitration—that is, by arrangements. A one-sided, restricted, formal law is to be established in the place of the decisions of history. The weak nation is to have the same right to live as the powerful and vigorous nation. The whole idea represents a presumptuous encroachment on the natural laws of development, which can only lead to the most disastrous consequences for humanity generally."<sup>9</sup>

Yes, but the federative idea "forged" the United States constitution, and the commonwealths of Canada, Australia, and South Africa—products in no way inferior to militaristic Prussia. History knows other "creative" forces besides war. The notion that war is in eternal harmony with the "natural laws of development"—i.e., that the biological principle of the survival of the fittest is an unanswerable scientific justification of war, is merely an illogical inference, of grossly pernicious effect, which has taken hold of highly intellectual minds. It is the fittest, be it remembered, not the fiercest, who survive. Warlike qualities, in the case of the Indian, the wolf and the pirate, have tended toward extinction, not survival. Prussia, "hard as steel," has no power but steel. The "new Germany," forged in the heat of Prussia's wars, can know only slavery to political compulsion, and Germany is not yet through with war. If one feels real concern toward the "consequences for humanity generally," he must be painfully shocked by Bernhardi's special pleading.

If Bernhardi's book had been buried and lost to the world, there should be a law against unearthing it, but considering its enormous circulation, an author may perhaps be pardoned for referring to these arguments for the sole purpose of showing that their mere utterance produces, in the democratic mind, an immediate hostile reaction, and a sense of repugnance. There is in democracy a quality of open-mindedness and an absence of calculating ambition which, on the whole, we believe, justifies even in our own day the optimism of Kant.

## VI.

War in general arouses feelings quite different from those of a given war in particular, as any German Socialist can testify. We come, therefore, to a consideration of the lines of action characteristic of democracies in the actual conduct of a war, once it is

started. The effect of an excess of democracy upon military discipline was painfully evident in the American revolution. The impromptu generals and "embattled farmers" of the revolutionary armies were primarily devoted to principles of democracy and equality: aptitude for military life was not their most conspicuous quality. Often the companies chose their own captains, and the effect of oratory in advancing men to military command was notable. Militia captains and other inferior officers, as Trevelyan tells us, thought it desirable to make elaborate harangues to their troops with ample references to Caesar, Pompey and the other classical favorites.

The private soldier was too much aware of his in-born "liberty" and "equality" to be amenable to discipline. It was hard for him to understand why he should lift his cap to a former neighbor whom the fortunes of war had made his superior in rank. If he considered it beneath his dignity to submit to the "Articles of War" drawn up by the Continental Congress he did not accept the invitation to "subscribe". When promised bounties were delayed he might withdraw his valuable services from the army, and it was hard to coax him into overstaying the period (usually short) which his original enlistment had called for. Often he considered the terms of pay and the conditions of service in the colonial establishment preferable to those of the regular army, and in that case it required the greatest inducements to entice him into the latter. Having no true conception of the necessity of rigorous discipline he was often insubordinate, escaping usually with slight punishment.<sup>10</sup>

Uniforms were often lacking, and distinctions between officers and men were commonly obliterated. The assembling of the army at the outset was haphazard, and the issuing of commissions to officers irregular. Congress took many matters into its own unmilitary hands, prescribing discipline, appointing misfit generals whom Washington had to tolerate, rebuking insubordination, degrading guilty officers, and even dictating military operations. All this does not mean that the essential rules of war were disregarded, nor that in warlike ceremonies, such as the exchange of prisoners, the colonists were disdainful of form, as between themselves and the enemy. It does mean that, among themselves, the revolutionary soldiers regarded authority and respect for rank as unimportant. All the most thoughtful statesmen of the time were deploring the excess of personal freedom.

Matters were different in the Civil War, because of its vast proportions and the greater attention to organization and discipline. Dictatorial powers were assumed by Lincoln, and the executive authority was enormously expanded. Before his first Congress met, the President, by such acts as the call for troops and the proclamation of blockade, had irrevocably

<sup>9</sup> F. von Bernhardi, "Germany and the Next War." (Trans. by A. H. Powles.) Chap. I, "The Right to Make War."

<sup>10</sup> C. H. Van Tyne, "The American Revolution," 31, 40; George Otto Trevelyan, "American Revolution," pt. I, esp. chap. ii.

committed the northern states to a forcible restoration of the union. During the course of the war newspapers were suppressed, martial law instituted in loyal states removed from the seat of hostilities, slaves freed by proclamation, court decisions ignored, and thousands of arbitrary imprisonments made.

These executive acts savored, perhaps, of monarchy. Yet there was, along with it all, a universal tempering of severe rules. Deserters were somehow saved from death; orders against disloyal persons were enforced with discretion; extenuating circumstances were given weight; escape from penalties was made possible by the taking of the oath of allegiance; ignorance of the law was often accepted as an excuse; first offenses were passed over, and spies even were released on the acceptance of stipulated terms. The government, moreover, took the people into its confidence; the motives of the war were frankly avowed, and Lincoln often argued with great care to justify the exercise of unusual powers. On the whole, the prosecution of this grim war revealed a democratic regard for human feeling and a wholesome respect for individual liberty.

England's war policy in the present gigantic conflict has been adduced as evidence that a nation loses its democracy when it takes up arms. The Defense of the Realm Act, to take a conspicuous case of war legislation, does greatly curtail individual liberty. Under this comprehensive measure, and the regulations which it authorizes, a citizen is liable to prosecution by court martial for refusing to answer a question (even though it involve self-incrimination), for keeping homing or carrier pigeons or having wireless apparatus in his possession, for being outdoors in a proclaimed area after prohibited hours, for showing lights after a designated time, for giving information, even indirectly, to the enemy, and in general for doing any act likely (in the opinion of the court martial) to be "prejudicial to the public safety or defense of the realm."

The editor prints news and comments on the war at his peril, for the publication of anything that "might be" useful to the enemy, and of "supposed plans" is prohibited. Officials are authorized to censor publications and private letters, to deport citizens, condemn buildings, seize factories, requisition commodities, and search suspected houses. A court martial may inflict death upon a citizen who commits an offense "with the intention of assisting the enemy." The offense is not defined, jury trial is denied, and the only appeal is to a ministerial officer, the Judge Advocate.

This rigorous measure has been denounced in England as a piece of "parliamentary despotism" worthy only of "uncivilized protectorates." That the war should have subjected the English with all their individualism to such a severe measure is evidence that war is itself a tyrant, which means that the more you have war, the less will the flower of democracy flourish. It is not to be questioned that during war monarchical methods are the most "efficient."

Yet there are certain saving features in the situation. The act is a measure of Parliament: it is not *lex regia*. There is no royal tyranny involved, no executive usurpation, no despotism of a bureaucracy acting through royal proclamation. A civilian wrongly arrested and tried by court martial under the act is not without redress. Distinguished legal opinion holds that, in the case of an unwarranted judgment of a military court against a civilian, an appeal would lie to the regular courts, and that regulations exceeding the limits of the statute are subject to judicial review (for instance, by *habeas corpus* or *certiorari* proceedings), and may be set aside if found to be *ultra vires*.<sup>11</sup> A regulation originally issued under the act, providing that a person arrested without warrant was to be deemed in legal custody, was dropped in the new Consolidated Regulations. As a whole the act did not dispense with the rule of law, but sought to deal effectively with a grim situation, and so to restrain individual acts as to prevent any assistance reaching the enemy. The fact that the act was roundly criticized in England is simply evidence that the British temper is not complacent toward governmental repression, even when such repression is necessary.

One can still detect the earmarks of democracy in the British situation. The criticisms of Kitchener and of the British admiralty after the failure at the Dardanelles brought definite results and forced a complete reorganization of the administration. Such a ministerial backdown in the very midst of a desperate war would have been impossible in a monarchy free from effective popular opinion. Regarding conscription it may be said that an army of four millions had been raised without resort to compulsion, that the number of citizens to be drafted is comparatively small, and that the long hesitation of the government to adopt the measure is evidence of the necessity in England of respecting individual rights. Conscription as a permanent, normal policy is swallowed "like a pill" in Germany.

## VII.

Concerning the question as to what constitute rights in war the contrast is striking between the view which prevails in such a country as Germany or Russia on the one hand, and England or America on the other. In Anglo-Saxon jurisdictions the common law police power theory obtains even in times of emergency rather than the idea of the complete supremacy of force. A German lawyer in war time will quote "*Inter arma silent leges*;" an Anglo-Saxon (with a different emphasis), "*Salus publica suprema lex*." Von der Goltz before the Great War wrote thus: "Accustomed as we are to the phenomena of the present, viz., huge armies and ruthless employment of force, we might almost believe that war and military institutions had worn these natural features from time immemorial. Yet both were always much dependent upon the state of universal civilization, yes

<sup>11</sup> Baty and Morgan, "War: Its Conduct and Legal Results" (Murray, London, 1915), p. 92.



even upon theories, upon the views of right and wrong, and the prejudices of the times. The simple conception of military operations which obtains to-day, namely, that war, where necessary, revokes all rights incidental to a state of peace, did not obtain in former generations."<sup>12</sup> This is the view of a general, not a lawyer, yet it suggests that the German theory does less to place war under the rule of law than the Anglo-Saxon theory.

It is true that in France (a democracy) you have the *état de siège*, but this does not countenance extreme illegality, and the best thought in France is to the effect that the whole military system should be overhauled in this respect, and that as it stands the *état de siège* is a menace in making possible that return to despotism which the French constantly fear. (France, be it remembered, is a democracy with monarchical survivals.) The American conception of rights in war was evidenced during the Civil War in the jealous watchfulness on the part of the courts to restrict the use of martial law. As a result, the assumed jurisdiction of military tribunals over civilians in regions unaffected by belligerent operations was overthrown, and political prisoners by the hundreds were either released or remanded to the ordinary courts. No such a sweeping military regime as the German *Kriegszustand* would be tolerated by Anglo-Saxons.

That war is inconsistent with democracy seems well borne out by recent events in the world's history. The greatest democratic product of the times, the Russian revolution, though in a sense promoted by the war, is staggering under the task of preserving war efficiency while initiating popular rule. In Germany the democratic reforms which are so long overdue, have brought ministerial crises, but have evidently been deferred till peace comes just as the agitation of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic periods postponed parliamentary and social reform in England. The great American democracy has entered the war and adopted conscription with surprisingly little friction on the whole, yet this action was taken with such evident distaste that nothing but the compulsion of ideals could have accounted for it. War in general has received a set-back in the fact that peace terms must now be squared with the unwarlike ideals of the Russian and American democracies. If this amounts to an abandonment of previous aggressive aims on the part of the Allies, the result will doubtless be fortunate. Conscription in democratic Canada has produced a serious division and crisis, and has succeeded only by reason of the essentially democratic belief that every man owes a like duty to the state. Greece having thrown off her king has limped into the war only because international entanglements beyond her control have made this her true policy. All the larger developments of 1917 seem to confirm the hope that the future belongs to democracy.

Though I realize the difficulty of writing on this topic without qualifying almost every assertion, I should like to conclude with the following propositions, which, I believe, a fair investigation will bear out. A military caste, or war party, has less chance of supremacy in a democratic state, where war is regarded as abnormal, than in a monarchy, where it is considered a natural political function. Democracy tends to overcome the evils of secret diplomacy, while preserving its advantages. The absence of dynastic claims, based on the feudal idea of the state as a patrimony, frees democracies from a fairly constant war-hazard. A democratic people, regarding culture as an attribute of the individual mind, not a standardized product of the government, and conceiving of civilization not as the monopoly of one nation but as the fusion of various tastes and customs, is not likely to use the sword as the agent of imposing its "culture" upon other peoples. When a war is once on, the manner of conducting it preserves, so far as possible, that regard for human life and property in which democracies excel. While there is much stretching of war powers, there is a constant effort to check executive usurpation, and to hold the war administration under the rule of law. The tendency to govern by fear and to adopt methods of "frightfulness" is not strong in a democracy. Though democracies may not be free from irrational inference, nor above international misunderstandings, yet the controlling tendency of their foreign policy is to allay rather than to excite international rivalry. Volunteering still has a large place in democracies even when conscription is employed and standing armies are fewer and smaller than in monarchies. Where democracies do have standing armies, their purpose is defense of independence and neutrality, not aggression. The subjection of the political and diplomatic departments to the military when vital decisions are pending is a monarchical, not a democratic risk. In the matter of war efficiency a democracy may be inferior to a monarchy, but in normal times its people will live a freer life, and in times of stress it will not be found wanting.

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An interesting case of the migration of education and ideals is given by Mr. Henry A. Blake in an article entitled, "The Education of a Nation" ("The Nineteenth Century," November, 1917). The present King of Siam was educated in England at Eton, Sandhurst, and Oxford. He ascended the throne in 1910, and since that time he has devoted himself to solving the problem of raising an inert nation to a virile plane of national consciousness. In morals, in education, in the organization of boy scouts, in military measures, and in the building up of national sentiment, the king has taken a large part.

<sup>12</sup> Von der Goltz, "The Nation in Arms," p. 1.



## The Holy Alliance; Its Origins and Influence

BY W. S. ROBERTSON, PH.D.

One hundred years ago, on September 26, 1815, there was signed at Paris a secret act—an act which was soon designated the treaty of the Holy Alliance. That so-called treaty was signed at an extraordinary juncture in the history of Europe. The far-flung empire of Napoleon the Great had been shattered by a coalition of European nations, and the ex-emperor was on his way to St. Helena. In the ringing words of the great English statesman, George Canning, "The limits of nations were again visible, and the spires and turrets of ancient establishments began to re-appear above the subsiding wave." In March, 1814, the ministers of Austria, England, Prussia and Russia had signed the treaty of Chaumont—the foundation of the Quadruple Alliance—which, ostensibly to secure the peace of Europe, made provisions concerning the maintenance of the balance of power. On June 9, 1815, at the Congress of Vienna the plenipotentiaries of seven powers had signed the great treaty known as the Final Act which, in general, provided for the reconstruction of Europe according to the doctrine of legitimacy. Diplomats at Paris were drawing the last lines in the new map of Europe when rumors were heard of a mysterious treaty which three autocratic monarchs had signed.

The signatories of the act of the Holy Alliance were Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, Francis I, Emperor of Austria, and Frederick William III, King of Prussia. The preamble of the act, invoking the name of "the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity," declared that those three monarchs, because of "the great events" which had taken place in Europe and because of the blessings that it had pleased "Divine Providence to confer upon those States which placed their confidence and hope" in God alone had become convinced that "the conduct to be observed by the powers in their mutual relations" should be founded upon the sublime truths which were taught by "the eternal religion of God our Saviour." Those monarchs declared that the object of this act was to publish to the world their resolution to take as their sole guide in the internal affairs of their respective states and also in their international relations "the precepts of that holy religion," namely, "the precepts of justice, charity and peace." The body of the act was composed of three articles. The first article declared that the three contracting monarchs would remain united by "the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity," that they would "on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance," and that in a fraternal spirit they would lead their subjects and their armies "to protect religion, peace and justice." The second article declared that the sole principle in force between the three governments or their subjects should be to perform "reciprocal service," to show "their mutual affection" by unceasing good-

will, and to demean themselves as "members of one and the same Christian nation." The three allied monarchs were to consider themselves as merely delegated by Providence "to govern three branches of the same family, namely, Austria, Prussia and Russia; thus confessing that the Christian nation of which they and their people are a part has in reality no other sovereign than He to whom power actually belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, of knowledge, and of infinite wisdom: that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, Jesus Christ, the word of the most High, the word of Life." The monarchs tenderly recommended their subjects "to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and the exercise of those duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind." The third article declared that those States which solemnly avowed "the sacred principles" of the act, and which recognized that these truths should exercise their proper influence over the destinies of mankind would be "received with as much cordiality as affection into this Holy Alliance."

The circumstances which evoked the act of the Holy Alliance may be suggested in the formula of the age, the man, and the environment. That act was the by-product of a war-weary age. At the Congress of Vienna certain personages had entertained the notion that the sovereigns there assembled might fittingly terminate its sessions by a proclamation pledging themselves to preserve peace throughout Europe. Such a proclamation was actually composed by the secretary of that Congress, Friedrich von Gentz, who was the assistant of the astute Austrian diplomatist, Prince Metternich. This *projet de déclaration* affirmed that "the best guarantee of general tranquility" was the firm desire of each power "to preserve the rights of its neighbors," and "the joint resolve to make common cause against the power," which, disregarding that principle, should overstep the prescribed boundaries. It declared that the sovereigns, "united by the memory of their past misfortunes," had formed "only one engagement, simple and sacred, that of subordinating every consideration to the inviolable maintenance of peace," and that they had decided to concert measures to throttle every project which tended "to overturn the established order and to provoke anew the disorders and the calamities of war." Gentz declared that when in February, 1815, this project was read to Alexander I, Czar of Russia, by the English diplomat, Lord Castlereagh, it moved that autocrat to tears.

Alexander I was very susceptible to such influences. When a young prince his tutor had made him acquainted with the *Projet de paix perpétuelle* of the Abbé de St. Pierre, which evidently made a vivid impression upon him. As early as 1804 the Czar

had expressed the opinion that a treaty at the end of the great war which would establish "the prescriptions of the rights of nations" upon "clear and precise principles" might secure to Europe some of the valuable results that would flow from universal peace.

In June, 1815, while sojourning at Heilbronn on his way to Paris, the emotions of the imperial idealist, whose character Metternich described as "a peculiar mixture of masculine virtues and feminine weaknesses," had been given a peculiar, religious tone by a Livonian widow, Madame de Krüdener, who considered herself divinely commissioned to teach the Czar her Chiliaistic cult. The devout attendance of Alexander I at the spiritual symposiums of that religious fanatic was largely responsible for the sanctimonious tone of the act of the Holy Alliance. On September 28, 1815, when speaking of this act, Castlereagh said that while in Paris Alexander I had spent "a part of every evening" with Madame de Krüdener, who had "a considerable reputation amongst the few high-flyers in religion" at that capital. A few months later Gentz declared that the Czar had apparently formed the project of the Holy Alliance while in the company of Madame de Krüdener. Several years later the Greek Capodistrias, who had represented Russia in the diplomatic negotiations at Paris, explicitly declared that while in that capital the Czar had drafted the act of the Holy Alliance "in lead pencil with his own hand." Madame de Krüdener is quoted as having said to a German professor: "God willed that I should suggest to the great and pious Emperor Alexander the first notion of the Holy Alliance. The emperor was pleased with my project. He prepared a draft which he submitted to me." In his *Histoire de la Restauration*, Capefigue said: "I have seen with my own eyes the original of this treaty which is written entirely by the hand of the Emperor Alexander, with corrections by Madame de Krüdener. The word *Sainte-Alliance* is written by that extraordinary woman." The evidence at hand accordingly furnishes a basis for the view that Czar Alexander I may be considered as the author of the act of the Holy Alliance. At least, he has as good a claim to the authorship of the Holy Alliance as President Monroe has to the authorship of the famous doctrine which bears his name.

The Czar submitted his project of a treaty to the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, as well as to Lord Castlereagh. The latter declared that the Czar developed to him "his whole plan of universal peace." The proposed treaty also became known to Prince Metternich. While no one of those personages felt inclined to approve the Czar's project, yet the monarchs of Austria and Prussia did not wish to spurn it; hence, after the Czar had made some alterations in the text, the act was signed by those two monarchs, as well as by its royal author. It was evidently at the instance of Alexander I that a note, signed by the three monarchs, was at once addressed to the Prince Regent of England inviting him to attach his signature to the act. Early in October the Prince Regent responded to the effect that the forms of the

English constitution prevented him from "acceding formally" to the act of the Holy Alliance, but that he sent his "entire concurrence in the principles" therein expressed. The representations of Alexander I to Louis XVIII, King of France, were more successful. On November 19, 1815, that king signed an act of accession avowing "the sacred principles" which had dictated the treaty. In discussing the treaty of the Holy Alliance, some writers have affirmed that it was subsequently signed by divers other crowned heads of Europe—a statement which it is easier to make than to prove.

A short time after Louis XVIII signed the treaty, on Christmas day, 1815, upon returning to St. Petersburg, the Czar made public the mysterious act, and ordered that it should be read in all the Russian churches. It was subsequently printed in various European journals. The comment of contemporaries varied according to their point of view. In the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham referred to it as an extraordinary treaty which was put forth by the contracting parties "as if they were the monopolists of Christianity." He said that their pretensions justified the "suspicion that they were leagued against some state not Christian, . . . and that they had something in view, which it was not deemed prudent to avow." In reply, Castlereagh, who had privately characterized the treaty of the Holy Alliance as a "piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense," gravely assured the House that the treaty did not threaten hostility to any state: "its object was confined solely to the contracting parties, and breathed the pure spirit of the Christian religion." Further, he declared that if the "spirit which it breathed was one which sincerely animated the emperor of Russia . . . there was nothing upon which he should more sincerely congratulate Europe and the world." Perhaps the keenest critic of the act of the Holy Alliance was the author of the peace proclamation drafted at the Congress of Vienna. In a letter dated February 25, 1816, Gentz spoke of "the so-called Holy Alliance" as "a political nullity," a "theatrical decoration," and a farce. He said that it would "soon be forgotten," and would only "figure in the diplomatic history of the nineteenth century as a monument of the fantasies of men and princes." The Czar soon came forward to defend and to explain his act. In a dispatch to his ambassador in London dated March 18, 1816, he affirmed that the act did not embody any design hostile to non-Christian peoples. A week later, Alexander I issued an apologetic manifesto declaring that he and his Allies had in view "the most efficacious application to the civil and political relations of States" of those "principles of peace, concord, and love which are the fruit of the religion and morality of Christianity. . . . The sole and exclusive object of the alliance can be no other than the maintenance of peace and the coöperation of all the moral interests of the peoples whom divine Providence is pleased to unite under the banner of the cross." Many years later Prince Metternich wrote in his autobiography—a work which was not unmindful

of the secrets of cabinets—that in the Czar's mind the Holy Alliance had "no other object than that of a moral demonstration." The retired diplomat even alleged that this alliance was never afterwards mentioned between the cabinets of Europe. "The Holy Alliance," said Metternich, "was not an institution to keep down the rights of the people, to promote absolutism or any other tyranny. It was only the overflow of the pietistic feeling of the Emperor Alexander, and the application of Christian principles to politics!"

In the annals of diplomatic history the act of the Holy Alliance occupies a place that is unique. The word holy was applied to that act with a peculiar connotation: it was conceived by an emperor of the Greek faith; it was immediately signed by him as well as by a Catholic emperor and a Protestant king. The Spanish historian, Modesto Lafuente, scornfully declared that to apply the name *holy* to that agreement was a "lamentable profanation." The act in question can scarcely be considered as a treaty in the ordinary sense. It was not signed by the ministers of the subscribing monarchs. It contained few specific provisions concerning the relations of the contracting parties. When in a critical mood Gentz said that in the entire context of the act there was no trace of a definite pledge, much less of a diplomatic pledge, or of reciprocal concessions—provisions which were of the very essence of treaties. The declaration that the three monarchs should upon all occasions lend each other aid and assistance was the clause of this strange act which most resembled the terminology of a treaty of alliance. Originally the act of the Holy Alliance was little more than a joint declaration of principles by three autocratic monarchs. That act contained few principles which the Czar might not properly have included in a proclamation. When thus attempting to analyze the act of the Holy Alliance, the writer was reminded of the remark once made concerning the Holy Roman Empire, namely, that that institution was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. In a similar fashion it is not altogether an exaggeration to say that originally the so-called treaty of the Holy Alliance was neither a treaty, nor holy, nor an alliance.

From 1815 to 1822, the "Holy Alliance" was almost inextricably involved with the Quadruple Alliance, or, as it is sometimes designated, the Grand Alliance. That alliance was consolidated by the treaty signed at Paris on November 20, 1815, by England, Austria, Prussia and Russia. The precise relation between the Grand Alliance and the Holy Alliance is one of the riddles of modern European history. Some writers on diplomatic history have been inclined to merge the Holy Alliance in the Grand Alliance. In truth, those alliances were not always kept separate and distinct by their contemporaries. A certain clause in the treaty of November 20, 1815, indeed, provided that, if revolutionary principles should again convulse France and thus "endanger the repose of other States," the contracting powers would

concert among themselves and with the king of France the measures necessary for the safety of their respective States and the tranquillity of Europe. In 1818 at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the first meeting of diplomats and sovereigns held in accordance with that treaty, France was grudgingly admitted into the Grand Alliance, which thus virtually became a Quintuple Alliance. While at that Congress Czar Alexander I and Capodistrias spoke of the Holy Alliance as a league of European nations, "guaranteeing to each other the existing order of things, in thrones as well as in territories, all being bound to march, if requisite, against the first Power that offended, either by her ambition or by her revolutionary transgressions." Upon this occasion Castlereagh mentioned the "benign principles" of that alliance as "constituting the European system in the matter of political conscience." And Gentz wrote sympathetically of the association of monarchs—the preservers of public order—as composing a "truly sacred union," of which the Holy Alliance was only "the imperfect symbol." In the Russo-Austrian hegemony, which apparently derived some sanction from the act of the Holy Alliance, Prince Metternich, chancellor of Austria, eventually secured and exercised the supremacy.

The activity of Prince Metternich was stimulated by the news of a revolutionary movement which swept over southern Europe. On March 9, 1820, revolutionists induced Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, to accept the liberal constitution of 1812, which established a limited monarchy and proclaimed the liberty of the press as well as the sovereignty of the people. A little later revolutionists compelled Ferdinand IV, King of Naples, likewise to accept the Spanish constitution of 1812. The Neapolitan revolt was considered at the Congress of Troppau by representatives of Austria, England, France, Prussia and Russia. There on November 19, 1820, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a protocol declaring that a State where revolutionary alterations took place which threatened other States would be excluded from the "European Alliance" until its situation presented "guarantees for legitimate order and stability." The signatories agreed not to recognize any alterations made in a State by "illegal means." They agreed to restore such a State "to the bosom of the alliance" by peaceful means, or, if necessary, by "*une force coercitive*." They affirmed that the revolution in the kingdom of Naples came within the purview of the protocol and expressed their intention of executing its provisions with the sole object of restoring "liberty to the king and to the nation." They agreed that, if forcible intervention was necessary the Neapolitan kingdom should be occupied by the Austrian army in the name of the contracting monarchs. Accordingly, after the Congress of Troppau had adjourned to Laibach—early in 1821—an Austrian army marched into Italy and restored Ferdinand IV to his throne. But the government of England would not endorse the proceedings of the three autocratic powers. A short time before he became secretary for foreign affairs, George Canning



publicly referred to the State papers of those powers as "foolish and pedantic;" he declared that England's policy should be "a perfect neutrality," and said that the course which England should follow was "on a plank which lay across a roaring stream." Thus did he express dissatisfaction with Metternich's policy of joint intervention by force of arms for the restoration of legitimate monarchs.

Nevertheless, intervention in Spanish affairs was soon the theme of discussion at another Congress. In 1822 at the Congress of Verona, by a diplomatic act, Austria, France, Prussia and Russia took cognizance of the nebulous association of powers known as the Holy Alliance. On November 22, 1822, the ministers of those powers, headed by Metternich, signed a secret treaty which they expressly declared to be an addition to the treaty of the Holy Alliance. In the secret treaty of Verona the contracting parties declared that representative government was as incompatible with "monarchical principles as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people with divine right." They mutually and solemnly engaged "to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known." They expressed their opinion that "the principles of religion" contributed most powerfully to keep "the nations in the state of passive obedience which they owe to their Princes." As the condition of the Iberian peninsula presented all "the circumstances to which this treaty" had special reference, the contracting parties entrusted to France the task of subduing the Spanish revolutionists, and agreed to assist her by means of a subsidy. The Duke of Wellington, the English representative at the Congress, refused to sign this treaty—henceforth a rift was clearly visible between England and the continental leaders of the Holy Alliance. At the conclusion of the Congress of Verona, the monarchs of Austria, Prussia and Russia sent to their ambassadors at other courts a circular dispatch—signed by their chief ministers—which praised the actions of "their alliance." This dispatch declared that Spain afforded another melancholy example of the inevitable consequences of transgressing the eternal laws of morality; for there legitimate power had been "fettered and turned into an instrument for the overthrow of all rights and all lawful liberty." Further, it declared that rich colonies were justifying their separation from the motherland by the same maxims with which constitutional Spain had built up her public rights—maxims that she wished to condemn in another hemisphere. Evidently Russia, in particular, felt that the success which had crowned the attacks of revolutionists upon their legitimate monarch in the Spanish peninsula, served as an encouragement to the revolutionists in Spanish America. In April, 1823, French soldiers—acting as the informal agents of the Holy Alliance—marched beyond the Pyrenees. They soon overthrew the constitutional government and restored Ferdinand VII to absolute power. When that king—who had invited intervention—was

restored, he proclaimed that the acts of the liberal government were null and void. As Ferdinand VII considered that the monarchs associated in the Holy Alliance were the conservators of monarchical government in Europe, he desired them to restore his sovereignty over the revolted colonies in America.

By the year 1822, Mexico, "Great Colombia," Chile and the United Provinces of la Plata had virtually established their independence of Spain. From time to time sinister rumors reached those States that the Holy Alliance would seek to destroy their autonomy. In that connection Great Colombia—the State which had been placed upon the map of South America by the military genius of Simón de Bolívar—will furnish a striking illustration. As early as March 18, 1822, Manuel Tórres, the Colombian chargé d'affaires at Washington, addressed to President Monroe's cabinet an exposition declaring that certain European powers harbored designs against America. He suggested that political conditions in Europe and America might provoke "a war on the part of the sovereigns that composed the Holy Alliance for the purpose of checking the spread of Republican principles in the New World." About two months later Tórres told John Quincy Adams, the American Secretary of State, that Colombians were jealous of "the European alliance," that they wished to form "an American system" to oppose the political system of Europe, and that they were anxious to have the United States "take the lead in this system." In June, 1823, a special agent of the United States wrote from Bogotá to Washington that the Colombian Vice President, Francisco de Paula Santander, had expressed a fear that, after the Holy Alliance had regulated the affairs of Spain, it would aid the motherland to subjugate Colombia. The government at Washington was also informed that Santander had inquired whether the United States would be willing to unite in a continental confederacy against Europe, "of Constitutional against Anti-Constitutional Governments." And, after the soldiers of France had overthrown the constitutional government of Spain, certain Colombian publicists told Richard C. Anderson, the first American minister to Colombia, that the Holy Allies would next turn their conquering arms against Spanish America. In the days of their fancied insecurity, certain South American patriots accordingly proposed that the Republic of the North should become the champion of American liberty against the powers of the Old Continent.

The intervention of France in Spanish affairs also excited publicists in North America. In the autumn of 1823, President Monroe's cabinet discussed the attitude of the Holy Alliance towards Spanish America. In his precious diary Secretary Adams recorded the views of his associates upon that crucial question. Adams said that Secretary Calhoun was "perfectly moon-struck by the surrender of Cadiz," for he declared that "the Holy Allies, with ten thousand men," would "restore all Mexico and South America to the Spanish dominion." Calhoun also expressed a fear that, after the Spanish-Americans were subjugated,



the Allies would proceed against the United States—"the first example of successful democratic rebellion." Secretary Wirt spoke of the danger of the United States assuming "the attitude of menace" towards the Holy Alliance "without meaning to strike," and raised the question whether or not the United States would oppose the Holy Alliance, if it "should act in direct hostility" against Spanish America. While the virile Adams did not deny that the Holy Allies might make "a temporary impression" in Spanish America for a few years, he emphatically declared that he no more believed that they would "restore the Spanish dominions upon the American continent than that the Chimborazo" would "sink beneath the ocean." He expressed the opinion, however, that, once masters of Spanish America, the Allies would distribute the former colonies of Spain among themselves.

The intervention of the Holy Alliance in Spanish affairs not only alarmed the Americas, but also England. Consequently on August 20, 1823, Secretary Canning sent a proposal to Richard Rush, the American minister in London, to the effect that England and the United States should make a joint declaration against any attempt by a European power other than Spain to subjugate the revolted Spanish colonies by force, or to acquire any part of them "by cession or by conquest." Canning expressed his willingness to agree to a declaration that England did not aim at the possession of any portion of those colonies herself, and that she could "not see any portion of them transferred to any other power with indifference." As he was not able to secure the assent of Rush to a joint declaration, on October 9, 1823, Canning took occasion to inform Prince de Polignac, the French minister in London, of his firm opposition to intervention in the Spanish colonies—an announcement which soon became known to the governments of France, Austria, Prussia and Russia. As is well known, it was partly due to apprehensions concerning the projects of the Holy Alliance, that on December 2, 1823, President Monroe sent that famous message to Congress in which he referred to the political system of the Holy Allies as being essentially different from that of the United States. And in memorable words he said: "We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Thus it was that a curious act of the Czar of all the Russias helped to evoke a doctrine which, in conjunction with the policy announced by England, exerted a favorable influence upon the destinies of the new Hispanic States.

This article indicates how the act of the Holy Alliance—conceived in a mood of lofty idealism—was perverted from its original purpose. Those persons who would search the pages of history for a promising example of the international organization of peace will not encounter it in the so-called Holy Alliance, which was a notable attempt to form a system for

the regulation of international affairs. For the coterie of nations which at times evidently acted under the aegis of the Holy Alliance almost forgot the ostensible purpose of the Emperor Alexander I, the "incorruptible spirit" of the act of September 26, 1815. Although these nations apparently aimed to promote universal peace through Congresses composed of their representatives, yet at the height of their power under the leadership of Prince Metternich the act of the Holy Alliance became a covenant between certain continental States—an instrument which they brought forth from the innermost recesses of their chancelleries to furnish a sanction for the stern repression of a revolutionary government in a minor European State. To an extent the international system of Metternich aimed to secure to Europe the political results sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna. Perhaps it is not too much to suggest that those continental powers which became intimately associated for the application of the doctrine of legitimacy may have tacitly constituted an alliance within the Grand Alliance—an alliance which might for convenience, at least, be styled the Holy Alliance. Certainly it is clear that early in the third decade of the nineteenth century Austria, Prussia and Russia had adopted the policy of joint intervention by force of arms in minor European States for the overthrow of constitutional governments and the restoration of legitimist monarchs. In the three Americas the Holy Alliance—which symbolized this policy—will be long remembered because it helped to provoke the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine—the "golden fruit" of the Congress of Verona. But although there are some indications that France or Russia may at times have dreamed of intervention in the protracted struggle between Spain and her revolted colonies, yet investigations of historical scholars make it appear less and less likely that the mysterious Holy Allies ever contracted to intervene for the restoration of Spanish sovereignty in the New World.

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An unsigned article in the "Quarterly Review" for October, 1917, discusses at considerable length "The Bagdad Railway Negotiations." The writer says: "It is indeed well put that, should the Prussian system secure its hold across the great land mass of the globe, from Denmark to Arabia, there would soon be no vital issue, whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa, that would not be decided in Berlin." The history of railway diplomacy and construction in the Ottoman Empire is treated in three periods: the first closing in 1888; the second in 1903; and the third in June, 1914. The author holds that in view of the present war it is a source for gratification that England did not reach an agreement with Turkey and Germany in 1903, since that agreement would have led to the completion of the railway before the present war, and thus have increased Germany's military strength. An excellent map accompanies the article.

## The Importance of the Agricultural Revolution

BY PROFESSOR RAYMOND G. TAYLOR, KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

It is almost a commonplace in these days to say that the roots of our modern complex social and political life lie somewhere close to the great mechanical changes wrought in eighteenth century England. The fact that there was an agricultural revolution in England, vitally related to the more familiar industrial revolution, and to our own progress, has received but scant notice from American students. To a certain extent all agricultural history has been treated in a more or less perfunctory, detached way, but nowhere else so much as in the case of the agricultural revolution. At best this is a serious oversight. Any account of industry, or of national life, that does not include agricultural development as a vital part of an integrated whole is incomplete and misleading. To quote one of our early societies: "The interests of *Commerce, Arts, and Manufactures* form, with *Agriculture*, an indissoluble union, to which citizens of every class and calling, have it amply in their power to contribute."<sup>1</sup>

The great changes in English agriculture became noticeable early in the eighteenth century. They were not completed until well into the nineteenth, long after the factory system was established. Scientific tillage, new root crops and artificial grasses, rotation of crops, improved live stock and enclosures by Parliamentary act, all helped to make the existence of the small farmer untenable and fit England to supply her swelling industrial cities with food for workers and raw material for power-driven machines. In turn the increased demands from the cities accelerated the agricultural changes, as did also the canals and turnpikes being built all over England. Moreover the awakened mechanical genius of England contributed directly to the new agriculture. Long before the mechanical revolution, farmers were demanding better agricultural implements and more of them.<sup>2</sup> Now the response came in the form of plows, drills, rakes, mowing and threshing machines, scarifiers, chaff-cutters and other tools.<sup>3</sup> A world war and the corn laws following hard on the heels of the industrial revolution completed the agricultural monopoly.

The stories of Hargreaves, Crompton, Arkwright, Cartwright, Watt, Bolton, Brindley, Macadam and Telford, and their great improvements in manufacturing and transportation are familiar to all students. Somewhat less so, but still available, are the records of Lord Townshend and his turnips, Jethro Tull and "horse-hoeing," Robert Bakewell and his "New Leicester" sheep, and Arthur Young, the universal observer and recorder of agricultural knowledge. The

connection between the two great interests is found in the formation of various societies, scientific first and later agricultural. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce was instituted at London in 1754. The first volume of its transactions appeared in 1783. Until that time its chief activity had been the offering of money prizes and medals for improvements in many lines ranging from agriculture to colonial policies. During this interval the society had given more than three thousand pounds in cash and seventy-two gold and thirty-one silver medals for improvements in agriculture alone.<sup>4</sup> It is further noteworthy that, until the close of the century, rather more than half of each annual volume of its transactions was devoted to agriculture. Members of the Royal Society were glad to contribute to the proceedings of this industrial society, its president, Sir Joseph Banks, for instance, offering so practical a thing as a cure for scab in sheep. The proceedings of the Royal Society, itself, were still closely restricted to "pure science." However, local societies patterned after the older society were formed, especially in the industrial centers of the west of England, and these responded to the new spirit of England. Their membership included a strong representation from the Royal Society and a great number of the leaders in industrial life. The work of the societies at Birmingham and Manchester was colored by their environment, and applied or industrial science as involved in manufactures and transportation and in agriculture as well, found able treatment in their proceedings.<sup>5</sup>

Beginning with the Bath and West of England Society in 1777 and the Highland Society in 1784, many purely agricultural organizations were formed. The last decade of the century saw a tremendous impetus given to the study of agricultural problems. The increasing interest is clearly indicated by the swelling flood of agricultural books of many degrees of worth that appeared. Some of these came from the pens of able men who had given years to the study of practical agriculture on their great estates; some were evolved from the brains of pedantic theorists far removed from the soil. Local societies were multiplied all over the British Isles. Pattern or experimental farms were established in some of the counties. One of the great leaders in this awakening was Sir John Sinclair, as a result of whose activities the Board of Agriculture was incorporated in 1793.<sup>6</sup> The surveys made by the Board and the communications addressed

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, *Memoirs*, I, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Baker, John Wynn, *Short Description and List . . . of the Instruments of Husbandry*. . . Dublin, 1769, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Prothero, R. E., *English Farming, Past and Present*, 208.

<sup>4</sup> *Transactions of the Society . . . of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*, Vol. I, pp. 3-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, Memoirs*, I-III.

<sup>6</sup> *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, I, preface. Philadelphia Society, I, pp. xxix-xxx.

to it in response to its many inquiries are the basis for much of the present insight into agricultural conditions of the time. The Smithfield Club organized in 1798 perpetuated the work of the old Smithfield Fair in the improvement and increase of live stock and made a national standard for local breeders and clubs. Prizes offered by all of these societies encouraged progress in every form of agricultural activity, so that even the laborers on the farms felt the stimulus in the new movement. In all this the leaders and exponents of the industrial revolution were found working along with the landed aristocracy whose interests were so much at stake.

England's selfish policy and the agricultural opportunities in this country combined to keep back the manufacturing revolution until the Napoleonic wars forced its growth. But it was otherwise with the agricultural revolution. Some of this was native to American soil, some of it was imported. Men of wealth and intelligence owned many of the great farms in a country almost entirely given to agriculture. The failing soil of some of the older sections was already forcing these able men to look about for remedies. The leaders in commercial life in our cities, even in the days of the Revolution, saw that American farming was in a bad way, and began to work for betterment.<sup>7</sup> Besides, there was no English embargo on the export of agricultural ideas. Washington at Mt. Vernon carried on serious experiments in crop rotation and marling the soil of the wornout Virginia hills. He corresponded freely with Arthur Young and even contemplated bringing English experts over to handle his farms.<sup>8</sup> The books of Young and other British writers on agriculture found a prominent place in his library at Mount Vernon. This was but a conspicuous example. Spinning mules and power looms might not be imported from England, but seeds, plants, and, in some cases, improved live stock, and best of all agricultural knowledge came freely.

Local agricultural societies were formed in America almost contemporaneously with the early ones in England. The Charleston, South Carolina, society was founded in 1784. It was the first to propose an

experimental farm. The Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture was formed in 1785 "by some citizens, only a few of whom were actually engaged in husbandry, but who were convinced of its necessity." After meeting more or less regularly for a few years its effects culminated in 1794 in a plan submitted to the legislature for the incorporation of a state society. When this failed interest lapsed and nothing more was heard of the society until it was revived in the winter of 1804.<sup>9</sup> The New York Society for the Promotion of Agricultural Arts and Manufactures was created in 1791 and published a volume of its proceedings the next year. The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture was incorporated in March, 1792, and its work though fitful was continuous thereafter. The Connecticut organization of the same name was started in 1794 and eight years later was able to publish its accumulated "Transactions" in a pamphlet of twenty-one pages. These early societies offered premiums for experiments in wheat culture, discovery of new fertilizers, recovery of wornout fields, improving wild lands, feeding cows and ewes for milk production and destruction of insect pests—in Massachusetts the canker worm. The Philadelphia list included live stock and dressed meats as well as dairy products. The Massachusetts list included wool clips and the best and most expeditious method of making maple sugar.<sup>10</sup> Olive oil, hops and vine products appeared on the Charleston list. The lists show familiarity with the lists of the London Society of Arts and the English agricultural societies. The Philadelphia plan of 1794 proposed a scheme of agricultural education, including endowed chairs in the University of Pennsylvania and Dickinson College, and the teaching of agriculture in the county and township schools with the co-operation of the county societies which the plan contemplated. In its exposition of the wisdom and feasibility of this "new education" this plan anticipates most of the favorite arguments of present-day advocates of vocational education.<sup>11</sup> The Massachusetts Society began some occasional publications at a very early date. Copious extracts from the proceedings of the Bath, Burlington and Halifax societies were reprinted showing again the guiding influence of English agricultural thought.<sup>12</sup> The membership in these early societies was marked by the presence of all the prominent leaders in public life, commerce and industry, in the respective communities. Washington and Franklin belonged to the Philadelphia Society. John and Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Fisher Ames, Josiah Quincy and Samuel Pomeroy were members of the Massachusetts organization. Nor was the constituency purely local. The lists of honorable members included many in neighboring and distant states of the union and not a few in England. Arthur Young and

<sup>7</sup> Philadelphia Society, I, pp. i-ii.

<sup>8</sup> Haworth, Paul Leland. George Washington, Farmer.

Professor W. C. Abbott, in "Some Unpublished Washington Letters," in the "Nation" (New York), vol. 65, pp. 219-221, gives practically all that is known of James Bloxham whom Washington secured from William Peacy, of Gloucestershire, England, to act as farm manager at Mount Vernon. He served from May, 1786, to June, 1790. His quaint observations on the crude conditions of farming in America, his fear that the negro slaves might poison him, and his request for a "Light an Deasent plow" and some "Sanfine" seed from England throw an interesting sidelight on American agriculture and its English connections. On page 298 of the same volume of the "Nation," Mary S. Beall publishes the original articles of agreement between Washington and Bloxham. Curiously enough, Haworth and other writers on Washington seem to have overlooked this unique item, though it was in print nearly twenty years ago.

<sup>9</sup> Philadelphia Society, Memoirs, I, Preface.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, pp. xxxi-xxxv. Massachusetts Society, Papers, Vol. I, pp. 13-15.

<sup>11</sup> Philadelphia Society, I, pp. xxiii-xxv.

<sup>12</sup> Massachusetts Society, Papers, I, passim.



other leaders on the other side were honorary members of the American societies. President Samuel Deane, of Bowdoin College, a member of the Massachusetts Society from its beginning, in 1790 brought out his "New England Farmer or Georgical Dictionary, containing a Compendious Account of the Ways and Means in which the Important Art of Husbandry, in all its various branches, is, or may be, practiced to the greatest advantage in this country." The work reached its second edition in 1797. In method and matter it shows clearly the influence of the current English agricultural literature. J. R. Bordley, a Philadelphia business man and member of the agricultural society, who had retired to a farm in Maryland, in 1799 published "Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs." It is confessedly based on the work of Tull and Young supplemented by his own observations and experiments. Bordley seems to have been moved to publish this book because of the failure of the early Philadelphia society to which he had looked hopefully for much help. Even the American Philosophical Society, founded at Philadelphia before the Revolution, admitted to its transactions many contributions to agricultural knowledge.<sup>13</sup>

What has been said of the universal appeal of the agricultural awakening in America, of its connection with the English movement, and of its intimate connection with industry in general is even truer during the early decades of the nineteenth century, the period of the "domestication of the factory system." Few, if any, of our leaders in public life were out of touch with things rural and agricultural. Most of them were direct products of plantation and farm life and keenly alive to its needs. Jefferson and Madison in their old age corresponded with each other and with New and Old World friends on matters of agriculture. Even the questions of agricultural economics presented in the great Roman classics were of vital interest to them. Henry Clay, the sponsor for the American System and the Bank of the United States, imported Hereford cattle. Instances such as these might be multiplied. Even educational institutions responded somewhat to the call, though in no such way as the Philadelphia Society had hoped in 1794. A professorship in chemistry and mineralogy as applied to agriculture was created in the University of Pennsylvania early in the century. This institution and Dickinson College were noted for their attention to applied sciences. It is noteworthy that Thomas Cooper, an English-trained chemist and friend of Priestley and late a manufacturing bleacher and dyer of Manchester, England, held successively the chairs of applied science in Dickinson and the University of Pennsylvania, that at the former place the DuPonts of Delaware were his disciples while at the latter the Pennsylvanians learned the elements of soil analysis and commercial fertilizers from him. Jefferson proposed to have teachers of agriculture in the University of Virginia, and in this he received support from Madison and outspoken approval from Cooper whom

he intended for the "first professor" of his institution, and who afterwards, as President of South Carolina College, never ceased to urge the matter of agricultural education.

The period from 1807 to 1815 saw the foundation of American manufactures. It was also the beginning of American agriculture in the modern sense. About 1810 the Philadelphia and Massachusetts societies became very active. Many others were formed and within a few years they were numbered by scores. A study of the printed memoirs and transactions of these societies at once reveals the close connection between the new interest in agriculture and the industrial revolution then in process. More than ever their personnel included the leaders in manufacturing, commercial and public life. Philadelphia was then our chief industrial and commercial city, comparable in a way to Manchester in England. The Philadelphia Society extended its premiums to cover many new problems in agriculture and even to improvements in household manufactures. It interested itself in roads, bridges and canals and devoted much space to them in its memoirs. From the so-called industrial interests themselves came emphatic proof of the connection between agriculture and industrial growth. The "Emporium of Arts and Sciences" established in 1812, at Philadelphia for the promotion of manufactures devoted a liberal share of its space to agriculture, especially as related to manufactures. Niles' "Weekly Register," established at Baltimore in 1811, was consecrated to protection and manufactures, but eagerly published every item of agricultural advance. The manufacturing enthusiasts rejoiced over the coming of the Spanish Merinos even when some agricultural writers were pessimistic on the subject.<sup>14</sup> The second decade of the century saw a swelling flood of scientific books published in this country, especially at Philadelphia. Largely reprints, revisions and abridgments of English works, they brought to our shores the contemporary English scientific thought. In general applied science was exalted. In this "transit of civilization" agriculture shared generously. The agricultural revolution in England preceded the industrial revolution, but in the end was inseparable from it. The same thing is true in America. As in manufactures and transportation we drew largely from England for our modern beginnings so in a somewhat less degree we are indebted to the mother country for our agricultural revolution in its earlier stages.

In "The Yale Review" for October, Henry Osborn Taylor endeavors to find a reason for the apparent destiny which drives unwilling men, governments and non-combatants to bloody fighting, in his article on "Wisdom of Ages." He reaches no definite conclusion save "for good and ill, the war has re-energized individuals and nations," while "restraint and sacrifice are needed still in order to rationalize or emotionalize the currents of human conduct."

<sup>13</sup> American Philosophical Society, Early Proceedings, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Massachusetts Society, Vol. I, No. 5. Niles' Register, Vols. I-VIII.



## The Freshman History Course at Louisiana State University

BY PROFESSOR MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

In THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE for April, 1917, appeared a group of articles on the elementary college course in history. Concerning the field of such a course, Prof. A. B. Shaw, of Stanford, observed: "Every man is fully persuaded in his own eyes that the thing which he is doing is the best thing to do." This sentence led me immediately to write a letter (published in the MAGAZINE for September) explaining that at Louisiana State University the history teachers were giving *not* the course they considered *best*, but that which they found most *practical*. Inquiries for a fuller exposition of this "practical" course induced me to impose the present paper upon the patience of the editor and his readers.

For several years Prof. Walter L. Fleming gave practically all the history offered at Louisiana State University. The freshman course, as stated in the catalogue was: "History 1-2: Essentials of History: (1) Orient, Greece and Rome; (2) Medieval and Modern Times." Substantially the same as that offered in most other colleges, this course was required of all freshmen in the College of Arts and Sciences and in the Teachers' College, and was an elective for agricultural and engineering students. Once in a while a law student took it. At the time I became affiliated with this institution (1912), Doctor Fleming was using as texts in History 1-2, Seignobos' "Ancient Civilization," followed by Robinson's "Western Europe." These were used through the session of 1915-1916. Doctor Fleming and I were in perfect accord in holding that as a "background" for political science, economics, sociology, law, literature; as a preparation for further work in history, and as an introduction to college methods of study, and the use of the library, a course in general history is the best for the beginners—freshmen, in this case. As to the method—we also agreed perfectly that formal lecturing is not the best one for freshmen. Accordingly we had our students recite upon the text, make oral and written reports upon assigned topics, and hand in a weekly summary or outline of the collateral reading done the previous week. Occasional tests and quizzes were given. Hardly once a term was a whole period consumed by a lecture, though the instructors commented upon the recitations, supplemented and explained the texts. For the session of 1914-15, Professor Fleming dropped Seignobos at the beginning of the session, and added contemporary history, based upon periodicals, at the end. I continued to use both Seignobos and Robinson.

Like every other state, Louisiana has a varied assortment of high schools, ranging from the three-teacher rural school to the fully equipped and

manned city school. Naturally, the secondary instruction in history varies with the teacher, the size of the class, the library facilities, etc. The first, second and fourth "blocks" recommended by the Committee of Seven are offered by all the schools. No provision is made for English history, and the State Board of Education has not adopted a text in that subject. We found that while the majority of our freshmen badly needed a course in general history, they did not appreciate that fact. Having had a high school course in medieval and modern history not more than two years before, they could not understand why they should "review" it in college. Hence most showed little interest in the course. Each year we had individual graduates from some schools and whole classes from others who had been so well handled in the secondary course that they might have been permitted to waive History 1-2 had there been any other suitable course to substitute for it.

The catalogue for 1915 announced that during the session of 1915-1916, two divisions of freshmen history would be offered. "History 1-2: Outlines of European History," practically the old "Essentials" course, was for students who had not had an unusually good high school course in history. For students who were better prepared, "History 1a-2a: European History with Special Attention to English History," was offered. As the head of the department (Doctor Fleming) was a member of the faculty committee on classification, it was feasible to direct most of the freshmen to the divisions for which they were best suited. Professor Fleming, Dr. C. C. Stroud and I gave the freshman courses this year. Doctor Stroud had only sections of "1-2," Doctor Fleming had only "1a-2a" (I believe), while I had one section of each. Substantially the same methods were used in both divisions, as indicated above for "1-2." Cheyney's "Short History of England" and "Kendall's Source Book" were the texts in "1a-2a." Through parallel reading and the comments of the teacher, it was sought to give the "general" ramifications and background needed for a college course.

Though Cheyney's book is not exactly a college text, as it was not used in the high schools of the state, and no other of a suitable nature and price was then obtainable, we felt warranted in using it, and the event justified us. The increased interest, the additional zeal displayed by students in "1a-2a" convinced us that the experiment certainly merited a further trial. During the session of 1916-1917, then, both divisions were given again, one section of each being given by Doctor Fleming and myself. As

stated in the letter mentioned above, I made a comparison of the results of the mid-year examinations in my two sections. Though I was personally more interested in "1-2," and had a smaller section thereof, that in "1a-2a" did better. Of twenty-seven students in "1," only eighteen, or 66 2-3 per cent., passed the examination; thirty out of thirty-two, or 93 per cent. plus, passed in "1a." Professor Fleming's experience was similar. Of course, not all of this difference could be attributed to the difference in courses: "1a" had a better prepared set of students, to begin with. Doctor Fleming had discontinued the use of Kendall's "Source Book," this session, which enabled him to complete the work in English history sooner, and finish the session for his section with a rapid summary of modern history.

In the light of two years' experience with the two divisions, we felt compelled to announce in the catalogue of 1917 only one course for the present session. This is "History 1-2. English and Continental European History," which "is designed to take up the work in history where the high school work ends. Since high schools in Louisiana place special emphasis upon classical, medieval and American history, the plan of this course is to emphasize the history of England and of modern Europe. During the first term, while not neglecting continental history, the work of the class is centered upon the history of England to the close of the seventeenth century. The second term is devoted to eighteenth and nineteenth century history, English and continental."

The resignation of Doctor Fleming, to accept the chair of history at Vanderbilt, has devolved all the freshman work for this session upon me. I have found it expedient to reduce the number of sections to three, in which I am endeavoring to carry out the specifications just quoted from the catalogue, on the line agreed upon by Doctor Fleming and myself. In two of the sections I am using as the text for the first term Larson's "Short History of England," and in the third section, Cheyney. I expect to accompany, then follow these, during the second term, with a text in modern European history. By that time, it is believed, the freshmen will have gotten far enough away from high school work and learned enough of college methods to appreciate a college course in modern history.

Now as to methods. The first two weeks of the term were spent in explaining the nature and purpose of the course, methods of study, note-taking, the use of maps, atlases, indices, reference works, etc. The chief contribution of ancient civilization were pointed out, as well as the connection with English history, then the study of the text was begun. Besides the text, each student is required to have a special form of notebook (Blackwell-Wielandy, 809C), which has loose leaves, 7½ by 4½ inches, with a half-inch margin ruled at the top and left of one side of the sheet. Assignments to the text are made by topics, which are posted in the library, with a list of

parallel references under each. At the first meeting of the class, each week, the notebooks must be handed in, containing an outline of the text, through the current topic, with an outline of the previous week's parallel reading. These outlines are written upon the ruled side of the page, lengthwise. The other side is reserved for class notes, written crosswise. The notebooks are checked up the same day they are handed in, and returned, usually that afternoon, to the students. Notes are taken in accordance with printed "suggestions," of which each student is given a copy. These directions were adopted by me from a similar set to which I was introduced by Dr. F. A. Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin, and Dr. A. I. Andrews, of Tufts College, when all three of us (and Dr. M. W. Tyler, now of the University of Minnesota) taught at Simmons College.

Recitations, based upon the text, are held at each of three meetings each section has weekly. Students are encouraged to amplify their replies with material drawn from their collateral reading. Where it seems necessary, the reply of the student or the statement of the text is commented upon, corrected or supplemented by the instructor. Students are encouraged to add to, but not interrupt one another's answers. Since the sections are large—thirty-two to forty-four students each—and some students are timid or indifferent, others interested and aggressive, careful planning is necessary to ensure that every student has some opportunity to recite each month. Generally, I find it best to make out a list of those to be called upon. This list is not alphabetical, is not arranged according to sexes, and the same student may be called on two days in succession, or even twice during the same period. But by means of it, I manage to give every student, even the most bashful and uninterested, several chances to recite. Of course volunteer additions and corrections are permitted and encouraged, as said above.

For monthly tests, quizzes, term examinations and the like, all students are held responsible for the text and for any additional points brought out in class, whether by students or instructors. Notebooks are again evaluated as part of the final examination. The usual aids, such as blackboards, charts, maps, atlases, genealogical tables, and other illustrations are utilized. Occasionally special events, epochs, characters, documents or characteristics are assigned for written reports. For example, "Write a thousand-word essay on the synod of Whitby," or the restoration of the coinage by Elizabeth, or Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, or Celtic commerce, or Egbert, etc.

Monthly grades are posted, with explanatory notes, to show the cause of poor ratings, such as unexcused absence, frequent tardiness, poor notebook, failure to hand in reports or notebooks, and the like. Opportunity is given students to discuss their difficulties with the instructor, in order to remedy deficiencies. When written tests are given, every paper is marked in red ink and returned to the student.

Believing that historical events are important—

other things being equal—in direct ratio to their bearing upon present institutions and conditions, every opportunity is seized to connect the past with the present and the local; to correlate the narrative of the text with recent and nearby events or facts, as well as to associate English history with general. For example, to-day (November 5, 1917), in answer to a question about the Venerable Bede a student mentioned that he died in 735. It was pointed out that this was three years after the battle of Tours. This city being located on the map, the Loire was followed up to Orleans, and the obvious connection with New Orleans was supplied by the class. Proceeding back down the river to Nantes, Henri IV, the Edict, Louis XIV and the Revocation, the migration of the Huguenots, some of whom eventually reached Baton Rouge, and have descendants there to-day,

known to the class, were all associated with the lesson of the day.

Part of the first meeting each week is devoted to current events, and a constant effort is made to develop in the student the habit of using daily papers and weekly and monthly magazines, as well as the more formal reference works. It is not a part of the purpose of this paper to discuss methods in current events. That has already been well done in this magazine.

Let me repeat, in conclusion, that we should prefer to give a course in general history, the first term, to all freshmen; but experience has convinced us that a course in English history, with general applications gets better results. Doubtless French history would do as well—perhaps better in Louisiana—but no suitable text is available. Here is the opportunity for some specialist in that field to write one.

## Ancient History in a Technical High School

BY H. REID HUNTER, TECHNOLOGICAL HIGH SCHOOL, ATLANTA, GA.

One of the most serious problems of the teacher of ancient history is to make the subject really interesting and practical. One of the recognized fundamental principles of teaching is to tie up the unknown with the known and to teach those subjects which have a social or functioning value. The average student who comes into the high school has few experiences or ideas with which to tie up much of the data that is contained in the average ancient history text-book, and as a result, many students find ancient history dull and lifeless. There are many teachers who are of the opinion that much of the material found in the average ancient history text should be eliminated, and a few in technical or vocational schools contend that ancient history should not be taught at all.

In order to make the ancient history more vitally interesting and lifelike, a number of plans have been tried at the Atlanta Technological High School, one of which has proved to be a great success. To understand the working of this plan it is necessary to say a word about the aims and purposes of the school where this experiment has been made. The work done in this school is far ahead of that done in the old type of manual training schools. Much intensive work is done in the semi-vocational subjects, such as elementary mechanics, industrial chemistry, physics, printing, forge shop, cabinet making, pattern making, machine shop, machine design, architectural drawing and concrete work. In addition to these semi-vocational studies thorough work is done in the so-called classical studies, as English, history, Latin, Spanish, spelling, and German. It is the purpose of the school to give thorough training in the fundamental subjects, but at the same time to lay particular stress on those studies which will train the student so that he may enter into the industrial life of the community

and readily become a producing member of society. Many of the students on the completion of the four-year high school course enter the sophomore class at such schools as the Alabama Polytechnic Institute or the Georgia School of Technology, where they specialize in particular lines of work begun in the high school.

In all courses, in addition to doing the more or less conventional work, special stress is given to those topics which give expression to the ideals of the school. It is sometimes rather difficult to do this with ancient history, but an attempt has been made and considerable progress has resulted. One phase of the ancient history work is the following plan: At suitable times during the year emphasis is placed on the vocational and industrial topics, such as Irrigation Projects of Egypt, The Ship Building Industry of the Phœnicians, The Manufacturing System of the Phœnicians, Construction of Public Buildings by the Greeks and Romans, Road and Bridge Building, Roman Machines, Plumbing, Water Systems, Harbor Improvements, Sewer Construction, Agricultural Implements, the Sciences, and many other allied subjects. In brief, this material may be divided into three parts: Architecture, Mechanics, and Engineering.

In handling these subjects or projects, as we call them, much parallel reading is done in the school and city libraries, where the students work out the details, and sometimes draw rough freehand pencil sketches of the object being studied. These sketches, after being approved by the history teacher, are carried to the drawing hall where they are submitted to the drawing teacher, and after a discussion as to the methods of procedure, a pencil drawing, a tracing, and sometimes a blue print is made. To illustrate the use of the mechanics side—one of the most in-



teresting topics studied last year was Roman War Machines. The general principle of the lever was reviewed, the utilization of the lever by Archimedes, the efficiency of the machines such as the battering ram, catapult, onager; triremes were taken up and discussed in class; and how the present European war has led to a revival of the use of many of these machines. Drawings were made of the most important machines, and students afterwards working in groups made small models in the shop. The students also took the general topics of Roman Machines. They found interesting material on Roman pumps, water wheels, plows, carts, reapers, oil mills and grain mills.

The architectural problems of the Greeks and Romans are well adapted to this work. One of the most interesting projects studied was the Greek temple. After the Greek religion had been studied, we took up a rather intensive study of the greatest of Greek temples—the Parthenon. After the ground plan, building materials, lighting, decoration, and other principal features had been discussed in class, the students started on their search for pictures and drawings. Pen and pencil sketches were made of the ground plan, front elevation, cross section, columns, lighting arrangement, pediment, architrave, frieze, and other minor details.

Under engineering projects we made a study of Roman engineering achievements as shown in their bridges, roads, aqueducts, sewers, race-courses, amphitheatres, and monumental arches. We were able to tie up much of this work with local problems.

The plan has been in full operation only about two years, hence it is hard to evaluate the work in terms of far-reaching results. Some of the immediate results are as follows: It has greatly stimulated a livelier interest in the study of ancient history itself; it has made it easier to get students to do collateral reading; it has enabled us to correlate history with drawing, science, shops, and architecture; it has made it possible to give expression to the aims of the school as never before. While this work has been in progress we have found quite a number of students who have talent in architectural drawing. The work begun in the history department has led the drawing department to introduce two courses in architecture, and in co-operation with the history department we are giving a half year course in the history of architecture. Many of the students who have made good records in this work have gone into architect's offices as tracers and assistant draftsmen. A few of the more ambitious students are now studying architecture at schools specializing in this subject.

The following are some of the topics which have been used to advantage where the plan has been tried:

1. Oriental history—the Great Pyramid, Xerxes' Bridge across the Hellespont, Temple of Luxor, Tomb of Cyrus the Great, irrigation in Egypt, and a Persian chariot.

2. Greek History—Lions' Gate at Mycenæ, plan of the City of Athens, Parthenon, Greek house, Greek

orders of architecture, oil mills, plan of the City of Alexandria, harbor and town of Piræus, an Athenian trireme, and Greek theatres.

3. Roman History—An Etruscan arch, Roman military standards and insignia, bridges, aqueducts, military roads, Cæsar's bridge across the Rhine, amphitheatres, war machines, Colosseum, Roman orders of architecture, Pantheon, agricultural implements, Roman homes, military camps, Circus Maximus, Trajan's column, and public bath-houses.

The following sources contain pictures and historical data on the subjects indicated:

#### ROMAN ROADS, BRIDGES AND AQUEDUCTS.

Johnstone, "Private Life of the Romans," pp. 282.

Platner, "Ancient Rome," pp. 124.

Preston and Dodge, "Private Life of the Romans," pp. 135.

Adams, "Roman Antiquities," pp. 483.

Tucker, "Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul," ch. 2.

Harper, "Dictionary of Antiquities."

#### ROMAN MACHINES.

Ashdown, "Arms and Armor."

Lacombe, "Arms and Armor."

Harper, "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities."

"Scientific American," Vols. 63, 89, 93, 94.

Johnstone, "Private Life of the Romans."

Smith, "Dictionary of Antiquities."

Bennett, "Beginner's Latin" (introduction).

Davis, "A Day in Old Athens."

Forman, "Stories of Useful Inventions."

#### EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURAL SUBJECTS.

Ferguson, "History of Architecture," Vol. I.

Breasted, "History of Egypt."

Sturgis, "History of Architecture."

Seiss, "Miracles in Stone."

Smyth, "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid."

West, "Ancient History" (revised edition).

Procter, "The Great Pyramid."

#### GREEK ARCHITECTURAL SUBJECTS.

Sturgis, "European Architecture."

Gwilt, "Architecture."

Johnstone, "Private Life of the Romans."

Hamlin, "History of Architecture."

"History of Architecture and Ornament" (International Textbook Co.).

Davis, "A Day in Old Athens."

Butler, "Story of Athens."

Webster, "Ancient History."

Morey, "Outlines of Greek History."

Mahaffy, "Old Greek Life."

#### PHŒNICIANS.

Rawlinson, "Story of Phœnicia."

Souttar, "Short History of Ancient Peoples."

Rawlinson, "Manual of Ancient History."

Williams, "Historian's History of the World."

# Timely Suggestions for Secondary School History

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF FOUR COMMITTEES OF HISTORIANS IN CO-OPERATION WITH  
THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE.

## I. Ancient Democracy and the Laboring Class

BY PROFESSOR G. W. BOTSFORD, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

In emphasizing the contribution of the Greeks to art, literature, and philosophy, we are inclined to minimize their vast advances in government and society. It is clear that their Minoan predecessors in Crete lived under the same absolutism as the dwellers on the Nile, and that the germs of the republic were introduced into Greece by the "Indo-European" invaders. We find accordingly in the "Iliad" of Homer strong Minoan traditions of despotism mingled with the actualities of an aristocratic republic, in which the king is straitly limited by the nobles. The "Odyssey" presents at Ithaca a picture of a kingless country misruled by a group of turbulent aristocrats. Here are glimpses of the process by which, in the civilized world, the republic came into being. The loving care of the king for his people, like that of a father for his children, vanished along with the monarch; and both Hesiod and Solon bitterly complain of the hard-hearted nobles evilly banded for the exploitation of the masses.

Meanwhile the gradual diffusion of economic prosperity and of intelligence, involving military and political ambitions, over a widening circle of the population tended to broaden the civic franchise. The process continued till in progressive States like Athens democracy was established. Whereas the policy of the aristocratic régime had been to reduce the commons to serfdom or actual slavery, the more liberal governments, and generally in proportion to their advancement toward democracy, aimed in various ways to lift the submerged classes to the plane of respectable citizenship. We find this policy especially successful in Periclean Attica; nowhere else in Greece were the farmers so prosperous; and there was a total absence of paupers outside the physically unfit. As the resources of the community, however, were limited, a humanitarian policy militated against the admission of aliens to the citizenship, while religious feeling which identified God with Blood cooperated in favor of an exclusive citizen body.

It has sometimes been urged that the Athenians lived in ease at the expense of others—slaves, alien residents, and tributary allies—and were therefore not democratic in any modern sense. In answer it may be said that careful inspection shows the great majority of Athenians gaining all or a large part of their living by the labor of their hands, and, in contrast with oligarchs, treating both slaves and resident aliens with notable gentleness and humanity. As regards the allies, the majority in every State preferred the rule of Athens to independence, a condition in which they would have been open to foreign con-

quest and subject to exploitation at the hands of their own oligarchs. In a word, the attitude of the Athenian majority toward these less privileged classes was one of increasing benevolence, which, reinforced by the levelling principles of sophistic teaching, contained the germ of a universal democracy. The political development from the seventh to the fourth century B. C. made increasingly for the improvement, not only of citizen laborers, but of all less privileged classes with which the government came into contact. In the fourth century progress was delayed, and the State weakened, by socialistic experimentation. It was at this time that, mainly through democratic development, the laboring classes reached a height of political, social, and economic well-being to which they did not again attain till comparatively recent times.

That no further advance took place is obviously due in the main to the encroachment of imperialism; for the notion that Hellenic democracy had reached the limit of its capability is absurd; it is in fact an error of modern historical logic to demand that the Greeks should have accomplished in decades what we have achieved through the struggles of centuries, and to assume that the very founders of political life were alone of all men incapable of learning by experience.

The military monarchy of Philip and Alexander served merely as a transition to the Hellenistic age. In this new condition many a Greek city-state, shorn of its independence, became practically a municipality in a great kingdom. Patronized as a rule by the king, it enjoyed local freedom on sufferance only. The environment of these communities and of those which lay outside the kingdoms was such as to foster perpetual fear and servility. Notwithstanding many exhibitions of generous or of heroic character in states and individuals, the historian is compelled to regret a general decline in manliness with the passing of the older freedom.

Different was the condition of those Greeks who left their native land to undertake private business throughout the Hellenistic kingdoms, or to assist the kings in the administration of their realms, or to settle as military colonists on the kings' lands. It was economically well with those Hellenes who could join the class of exploiters of a conquered population, but ill enough with the considerable number who sooner or later sank to the condition of subjects. There was an appreciable deterioration of the laboring class from the fourth century to the Hellenistic age—due largely to a lapse of interest on the part of the gov-

ernment. In the administrative documents of Hellenistic Egypt, for example, we search in vain for that benevolence which was so conspicuous in early time, even in the Egypt of the Pharaohs. In the Roman empire Hellenistic conditions were perpetuated and extended. The *Princeps* stood toward the provincials as a shepherd to his flock (Tiberius) or as a

parent to his children (the Antonines); but in general his benevolence could not reach the peasants. Gradually they fell into serfdom, from which they were freed in early modern times; and it is only in recent years that laborers have been regaining the social, political, and economic advantages which they enjoyed under the Greek democracy.

## II. The Interest of Seventeenth Century England for Students of American Institutions

BY PROFESSOR WALLACE NOTESTEIN, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

The historians when they come to review this war will have something to say about the far-reaching effects of the teaching of history in Germany—and in America. It is not alone the Irish and the German-Americans who were reluctant to see our country fighting with Britain, but many of old American stock, who had not forgotten "Tarleton's men" or General Gage. That we had received a legacy of English institutions and traditions was a commonplace that had been almost forgotten, if ever realized, by many otherwise intelligent Americans. That fact the teachers of English history have a chance to emphasize, and so to remove some of the prejudices almost necessarily accumulated in the study of the American Revolution. In particular the teacher, in dealing with the seventeenth century—which comes logically as well as chronologically before the century of the Revolution—has a chance to lay the proper groundwork in the student's mind.

For those who would make clear what we owe to English institutions, the historical works are at hand. Men such as Andrews, Cheyney, Osgood, E. B. Greene, Channing and Beer have given us the text and comment. From their writings the teacher can gain the background from which to give American history its setting as well as to give English history a fuller meaning. The student can hardly be told too often that he is dealing with the first part of American history—school directors eager to eliminate English history from the program might be told as well. The connections must of course be illustrated. The relation between the English parish and the New England town-meeting offers an example, but there are many. If such matters are presented as simply as honesty will permit and with some color of historical imagination, the student will take hold of them. He may come to realize that the boats that brought Puritans to Boston and planters to Jamestown brought not only men and furniture, but less visible and more durable things.

Not only the heritage of England to America but her contribution to the world, orderly self-government, can be taught in connection with the seventeenth century. Usually the high school student at about the time he is studying English history is in the midst of civics and is finding it interesting. The teacher can

set forth three fundamental civic facts of English history that belong to a considerable degree in the seventeenth century; he can show the significance of the growth of the functions of parliament, of the beginnings of the party system and of the cabinet.

The rights of parliament were won, possibly to a greater degree than we always realize, in the century and a half before the American Revolution. The more we examine the parliamentary debates of late Elizabethan and of Stuart times, the more we suspect that the Tudor parliament was largely a registering body, doing pretty much what the Administration wished. If it complained sometimes, so does the Reichstag. It would not be a long cry from Peter and Paul Wentworth and the other disgruntled spirits of Elizabeth's parliaments to those discontented Social-Democrats, Herr Haase, Herr David and their friends—though we must not press the comparison to sovereigns. It was with the early years of James' reign that there grew up, owing to special circumstances, but circumstances that were almost sure to arise, a group of earnest pushing men who knew what they wished, who planned legislation—a new thing, really—and strove to put it through. When they found themselves thwarted by the Privy Counsellors, such men as Eliot, Hakewill, and Coke went around to the house of that antiquary and friend, Sir Robert Cotton, to consult his manuscripts; they went to the Tower, and tracked down the precedents that would support them at Westminster Hall. They dug back into the records of Lancastrian times—when parliament had been winning some concessions from the sovereign—and turned up many such precedents as they needed, precedents, which no doubt honestly enough, they magnified, until they had reconstructed a whole parliamentary system that had never existed—the tradition of which hardly escapes us to-day—and began holding up that system to the government. Upon that none too well grounded foundation they developed a theory of parliament and its rights. By their work, by the slow accretions of one slight victory after another, sometimes merely in trifles of procedure, by the rapid accretions of the Long Parliament, then by wars and the lessons learned from those wars, and at length by the most quiet of revolutions, parliament gained those rights of "functioning," which our Congress has long taken for granted.



Hardly less important is the beginning of the party system. The men who hunted down precedents under the early Stuarts met and worked together. From 1610 on they formed a kind of "Opposition" to his Majesty. Early in the reign of Charles I, as early indeed as 1626—we find them dubbed the "country party" as contrasted with the "courtiers." Gardiner sees in the lines drawn on February 8, 1641, those between modern English parties. Is it carrying matters too far back to say that Sir Edward Coke, Sir John Eliot, Sir Dudley Digges, and their associates were the earliest Liberals, or Whigs—for they were more nearly the latter. Such teaching presupposes that the student understands the parties of to-day. And he should understand them, I think, long before he comes to recent history. The meaning of the play is better grasped—and the play is seldom less interesting—if the listener knows how it is going to end. If the student sees in the several groups that made up the two warring parties of the Civil Wars, the similarity to the groups that compose the parties to-day, he will have learned what will make the past and present more real, and he will be in a better position to understand the first part of American history.

The cabinet is no less significant, though less a part of the seventeenth century. About its working to-day we know much; about its evolution we are still learn-

ing from the young American scholar, E. R. Turner, and from English scholars. The high school student is not too immature to appreciate the main features of the cabinet, as a responsible body, and to realize its wide use in the world, even the demand on the part of certain factions in Germany for its adoption. Here, too, the student must know the system as it works to-day—a boy likes to see the thing working and then hunt back. How it came to work so, is rather strong meat for those below collegiate grade. But the seventeenth century should not be passed without some efforts to trace the beginnings of that most flexible and smooth-working piece of machinery. It should of course be made perfectly clear that the close committees of James I and Charles I's Privy Councils, and the cabal of Charles II, all of them, fell far short of a cabinet.

Parliament, parties, and cabinet, these are obvious facts of English history, but their meaning seems to have escaped too many. What Americans owe to England has escaped them even more. If the meaning of these facts is ever to be appreciated in this country, it will have to be through the teachings of the high school. The teacher could hardly wish a better chance than to interpret them to young people who so easily accept and revere "democracy" and who so seldom understand its history.

### III. Some Aspects of American Experience—1775-1783

BY JAMES SULLIVAN, PH.D., HEAD OF DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

In view of the present war and the way in which by successive steps, we were gradually forced to take up arms, it is interesting to note some parallels with our War for Independence.

The colonists, like ourselves, did not want war. It was for them, as for us, largely a question of going into it, or giving up principles which were felt to be right, and they chose the former. Even after the so-called Olive Branch Petition to George III, and his ministers had failed, and the people of the colonies found themselves in conflict with British arms, they had no clear notion, as Washington testifies, of severing themselves from the mother country. They saw a conflict of resistance for justification and it was only gradually that it dawned over them that the fight was an irreconcilable struggle which could only be settled by separation.

To any sane person the chances for success against the power of Great Britain must have seemed hopeless. The colonists had no central government, no army or navy, no money, no allies, and within their midst there was a large body of people who were hostile to the idea of entering an armed conflict with the mother country.

To organize an army was a difficult thing. In many of the colonies there were loosely organized

bodies of militia—that is groups of men subject to call for military service. In most cases, however, these men met irregularly and were imperfectly organized and poorly trained. When called, they assembled slowly and their training consisted of a few short drills, a day's musketry practice, and some sham battles. In some of the colonies they never came together at all. Massachusetts early urged Congress to take over the control of the army which was gathering about Boston, but Congress was slow in doing it. Finally, however, it did so and put Washington in charge of it. By this act the troops which had been drawn from the four New England colonies were made a continental army under the control of Congress and of a general appointed by it. When Washington took control everything was in great disorder. The equipment of the troops, their uniforms, the terms of enlistment, the methods of selecting officers, the size of the companies and the regiments, were as various as the colonies furnishing them.

Out of all this chaos Washington created his continental army—the Line—as it came to be called, but not without much discouragement. In one of his letters he says: "Such a dearth of public spirit, and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or

another, in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God . . . I may never be witness to again." By January 1, 1776, the new Continental army was completely organized. Throughout the war bodies of militia from the various colonies gave it assistance and were in turn assisted by it. The Line was recruited by the volunteer system, but difficulties were soon encountered in getting a sufficient number. Bounties had to be resorted to and these were offered sometimes in the form of money, land or clothing. Large numbers of the men after getting their bounties deserted. Some of them enlisted again under different names and from different places in order to get another bounty. Washington had frequently to lament the abuses of the system.

Of greater difficulty even than getting an army was getting money to pay the army, to buy equipment and provisions, to secure ordnance and ships, and to meet the expenses of the government generally. As Congress had no authority to raise money by taxation, resort was had almost immediately to the issuance of paper money and before the war was over nearly \$250,000,000 of this "continental" money had been issued. This had no specie behind it, but each state was supposed to make provision for a pro rata redemption. This some of the states did only partially, and others not at all. By 1780 it took forty paper dollars to get one silver dollar and by 1781 it took one hundred. "Barber-shops were papered in jest with the bills; and the sailors, on returning from their cruise, being paid off in bundles of this worthless money, had suits of clothes made of it."

Another method of getting funds used by Congress was to requisition the states for certain proportionate amounts, but these sums seldom came in full and towards the close of the war ceased to be honored at all. In 1780 Congress had to resort to the method of asking the states to furnish supplies in kind instead of in money.

A third method of raising money was by domestic and foreign loans. To float the domestic loan, offices were established in each state and indentured notes to bear interest at 4 per cent., then at 6 per cent., were issued. The amount first attempted to be raised in this way was \$5,000,000, but the subscriptions fell short of \$4,000,000. When Congress succeeded in floating a foreign loan, however, the credit was improved and larger domestic loans were made possible. Money was obtained from abroad in the form of gifts or subsidies from France and Spain, and also in the form of loans from the same governments and from bankers in Holland. Little of actual money from these, however, reached this country, the proceeds being expended in buying supplies over there. This is, coincidentally, exactly what the countries of Europe are doing to-day, except that the action is reversed. Loans floated by England, France and Italy in this country to-day are not taken out of the country in money, but are used to buy supplies to be shipped over there.

A third experience of importance during the War for Independence was that with the disloyal element

which existed in our midst—composed of those commonly called Tories or Loyalists. These people, who were much more numerous than is commonly supposed, did everything in their power to thwart the revolting colonists from making the Revolution a success. Their deeds remind us of some of the doings of people who live among us at the present day. They sowed sedition, they proselyted, spread false news, depreciated the currency and threw discredit on the financial ability of the government, dissuaded people from subscribing to loans, stole powder, piloted hostile vessels, sold goods to the enemy, stole letters, plotted Washington's assassination, harbored spies, gave aid and comfort to the enemy.

At the beginning too much leniency was shown to these people, who, as Washington said, were "preying upon the vitals of the country." He further wrote that "my tenderness has been much abused" and repeatedly complained to state legislatures and friends of the "diabolical and insidious arts and schemes carrying on by the Tories . . . to raise distrust, dissensions and divisions among us." Gradually it became clear to the colonists that the sternest kind of repressive measures would have to be taken against the Tories if the newly formed American state were to be successful.

The various provincial assemblies then began to pass test acts compelling all to take the oath of allegiance. Those who failed to do so were denied the rights of citizenship, of voting, and of holding office; lawyers were denied the right to practise, teachers the right to teach, druggists the right to dispense, and physicians the right to practise. They were denied any standing in the courts, could not collect their debts, serve as guardians, executors or administrators, they could not be jurymen, could neither buy nor sell lands, nor dispose of their fortunes at death, and their deeds of gift were invalid. In one state anyone who objected to taking the oath was given two hours to decide and upon refusal was cast into jail. In others the obdurate were forbidden to travel or go near the enemies' lines, were disarmed, imprisoned, pilloried, their hair cropped; they were specially taxed, their property confiscated, attacked or burned, their houses subjected to visit and their letters opened to discover treasonable matter. They were gathered into groups and banished to districts where they could do little harm; many were placed in concentration camps, others were expatriated to Great Britain and to Canada, or banished to Europe and the West Indies. The Tory press was also severely restricted. To these severe measures Washington and his contemporaries gave their approval for they believed that sympathizers with the enemy must be treated as enemies of the state.

These are only a few aspects of American experience during the War for Independence which should be suggestive in the present crisis. Other illustrations which might be developed if space permitted are: The privations endured by the colonists; the

help rendered us by our allies; the rejection of appeals for peace; and the refusal to entertain the propositions of the British peace commission, sent over after

Burgoyne's surrender. All these topics bring up problems analogous to those which now confront the American people and their government.

## IV. The Origins of the Triple Alliance

PREPARED FOR THE COMMITTEE ON MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY, AND BASED UPON A. C. COOLIDGE'S "ORIGINS OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE" ("SCRIBNER'S," 1917).

The Triple Alliance had its origin between the Peace of Frankfurt (1871) and the accession of Italy in 1882 to the alliance already consummated between Germany and Austria. Bismarck's policy after the Franco-Prussian war was influenced by the fear of a war of revenge and the desire to keep France weak and occupied with home affairs. He was glad to see France a republic, because a republic could less easily find alliances. He wished to prevent an alliance against Germany, but on the other hand desired that Germany herself should have allies—if possible, her old allies of the Holy Alliance, Austria and Russia, both nations politically conservative. During the years 1871 and 1872, through Bismarck's efforts and the interchange of royal visits, an understanding was reached between the sovereigns of the three states. The alliance dominated Europe and was too strong for any combination France might make.

But when France recovered rapidly and began to strengthen her army, Bismarck was alarmed. Whether he purposed war against France in 1875, or meant merely to browbeat her, is not certain. Both St. Petersburg and London used pressure in behalf of France. Bismarck realized that the Tsar wished to maintain the existence of France as a great power. The league of the three emperors, he felt, would not suffice.

Meantime the Eastern Question served to make Russia a less dependable ally. The insurrection in 1875 of Herzegovina and Bosnia against Turkey drew in Serbia and Montenegro, and endangered relations between Russia and Austria. The attempted arrangement between the emperors of Austria and Russia at Reichstadt in 1876 might have proved satisfactory had Serbia not been defeated and invaded by Turkish troops. When public opinion in Russia pushed the Tsar towards war, when the Turks failed to meet the demands for local autonomy and improvement of administration formulated at an international conference at Constantinople, Russia, assuring herself first of Austria's friendly if conditional neutrality, declared war. When Russia after serious defeats took Plevna and pressed on towards Constantinople, Turkey agreed to the Treaty of San Stefano. England and Austria, dissatisfied with that treaty, took steps threatening war, and Russia was forced to consent to the Congress of Berlin. There Russia's winnings were pared, and Austria gained control over Bosnia and Herzegovina; England brought back "peace with honor" and had gained Cyprus.

The outcome of that congress meant the further weakening of the alliance of the three emperors.

Austria, expanding to the southeast, was necessarily a rival of Russia, and Russia was humiliated and deeply offended. Bismarck realized not only that Russia would not give him a free hand against France, but that Germany must be guaranteed against Russian resentment. He probably felt, too, that Germany could not hope in an alliance with Russia to play the dominant rôle. He turned to Austria, and, in spite of the great reluctance of William I, arranged the Austro-German alliance of 1879.

The accession of Italy to that alliance was largely her own doing. The ties of common latinity between France and Italy did not avail to make the latter nation forget its grievances. It was hard for Italy to forget Napoleon III, his failure to restore Venice, his retention of French troops in Rome, his taking of Nice and Savoy. When France after the Congress of Berlin, with the consent of England and the favorable attitude of Bismarck, made Tunis a protectorate, Italy was roused to protests, frantic but unavailing. Weak and isolated, she turned towards Berlin and was directed to Vienna. To Vienna King Humbert went and gained a promise of the integrity of Italy's territory, but not what he also hoped, support for her position and ambitions in the Mediterranean. Austria's treaty with Italy was duplicated by that with Germany. On May 22, 1882, the two documents which together constituted the Triple Alliance were signed in Vienna. It was a triumph for Bismarck, and one for which he paid little.

Prof. Samuel P. Orth, of Cornell, in writing on "Kaiser and Volk" in the November "Century," argues that it is "high time the American people rid themselves of the fatal delusion that there is a distinction between the ambitions of the Kaiser and of his people. They are a terrible unity; neither will forsake the other," and backs his argument by historical precedent and personal observation.

"The Irish Convention—and After," by Mrs. John Richard Greene ("Atlantic" for November), is an able and interesting account by one of the great authorities on Irish history. She is a strong partisan of Ireland, but not so much so as to lose her sense of historical value. In conclusion, she says: "In the Irish view, the British have utterly failed in the imperial temper. Their statesmanship has not been such as to mark them as an imperially-minded race. The time has come for a new beginning. The creation of an alliance which the old methods have failed to produce now depends on the insight and the courage of the convention. . . . The imperialism of old days—the government of possession by a superior people—is gone, and with it the word itself is fast disappearing."



# Program of the Thirty-Third Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association

PHILADELPHIA, PA., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, TO SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1917.

The following is a preliminary form of the program of the American Historical Association:

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

10.00 a. m.—General session, American history, Clover Room, Bellevue-Stratford.

Paper (subject to be supplied), Herbert N. Bolton, University of California.

"The Association," J. Franklin Jameson, Washington, D. C.

"The Background of American Federalism," Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago.

"The Significance of the North Central States in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," Frederick J. Turner, Harvard University.

"Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations During the Civil War," Louis B. Schmidt, Iowa State College.

1.00 p. m.—Joint subscription luncheon by American Historical Association and Political Science Association, Ball Room, Bellevue-Stratford.

Address on "A Government Experiment in War Publicity," by Guy Stanton Ford.

3.00 p. m.—Conference of archivists, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street. Chairman, Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York Public Library.

"The Preservation and Collection of War Records."

3.00 p. m.—Ancient history, joint conference of American Archaeological Institute and American Philological Society, Engineering Building, University of Pennsylvania. Chairman, James H. Breasted, University of Chicago.

"The Cosmopolitanism of the Religion of Tarsus and the Origin of Mithra," A. L. Frothingham, Princeton University. Discussion opened by Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University.

"Oriental Imperialism," A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois. Discussion opened by Morris Jastrow, University of Pennsylvania.

"Greek Imperialism," W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University. Discussion opened by Clarence P. Bill, Adelbert College.

"Roman Imperialism," G. W. Botsford, Columbia University. Discussion opened by S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University.

"The Decay of Nationalism Under the Roman Empire," Clifford Moore, Harvard University. Discussion opened by F. F. Abbott, Princeton University.

"The New Humanism," Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan. Discussion opened by W. L. Westerman, University of Wisconsin.

3.00 p. m.—English medieval history, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman, Dana C. Munro, Princeton University.

"English Medieval Taxation."

"Early Assessment for Papal Taxation of English Clerical Incomes," William E. Lunt, Haverford College.

"The Taxes on the Personal Property of Laymen to 1272," Sydney K. Mitchell, Yale University.

"The Assessment of Lay Subsidies, 1290-1334," James F. Willard, University of Colorado.

"The English Customs Revenues up to 1275," Norman S. B. Gras, Clark University.

6.30 p. m.—Subscription dinner for women members of the American Historical Association, New Century Club, 124 South Twelfth Street.

Topic for discussion, "The Effect of the War on Education."

8.30 p. m.—Presidential address, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"The Editorial Function in American History," Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society.

9.30 p. m.—Reception and dinner tendered by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the members of the American Historical Association.

## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

Sessions both morning and afternoon at the University of Pennsylvania.

10.00 a. m.—Medieval church history, joint conference with American Society on Church History, College Hall. Chairman, David S. Schaff, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"The Council of Constance: Its Fame and Its Failure."

Presidential address of the American Society on Church History.

"The Conciliar Movement," Harold J. Laski, Harvard University.

"The Actual Achievements of the Reformation," Preserved Smith, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

10.00 a. m.—American history, Room 200, College Hall.

Joint conference with Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Chairman, St. George L. Souissat, president of Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

"To What Extent Was George Rogers Clark in Possession of the Northwest at the Close of the Revolution?" James A. James, Northwestern University.

"The Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee," Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina.

"Stephen F. Austin," Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas.

"Populism in Louisiana in the Nineties," M. J. White, Tulane University.

10.00 a. m.—Military history and war economics, Houston Hall. Chairman, Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University.

"Role de la Section Historique dans un Etat-Major General," Lt. Col. Paul Asan, French Army.

"Notes on American Manufactures During the Civil War," Victor S. Clark, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

"The Reconstruction of the Southern Railroads," Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin.

"The Work of the Commercial Economy Board," E. F. Gay, Harvard University.

1.00 p. m.—Luncheon tendered to members of all associations by the University of Pennsylvania, Weightman Hall.

2.30 p. m.—Recent Russian history, Houston Hall.

"The Roll of the Intellectuals in the Liberating Movement in Russia," Alexander Petrunkevitch, Yale University.

"Factors in the March Revolution of 1917," Samuel N. Harper, University of Chicago.

"The First Week of the Revolution of March, 1917," P. Golder, Washington State College.

"The Jugo-Slav Movement," Robert J. Kerner, University of Missouri.

6.00 p. m.—Supper tendered to members by the University of Pennsylvania.

8.15 p. m.—General session.

"A Generation of American Historiography," William A. Dunning, Columbia University.

"The Responsibility of the Historian in the Formation of Public Opinion," James H. Robinson, Columbia University.

Paper (subject to be supplied), André Tardieu, of the French High Commission.

"The Psychology of a Constitutional Convention," Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University.

#### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

10.00 a. m.—Conference of historical societies, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Chairman—Thomas Lynch Montgomery, State Librarian of Pennsylvania.

Business session; election of officers and committees.

10.45 a. m.—"The Relation of the Hereditary Patriotic Societies and the Historical Societies, with Especial Reference to Co-operation in Publication," Norris S. Barratt, Philadelphia.

"The Collection of Local War Material by Historical Societies."

Discussion by Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society; Harlow Lindley, Indiana Historical Commission; Ralph D. W. Conner, North Carolina Historical Commission; G. N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission.

10.00 a. m.—Conference of teachers of history. Joint session with the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, Glover Room, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman, Marshall S. Brown, New York University.

Report by Committee on the Teaching of History in the Schools. Chairman, Henry Johnson, Teachers' College.

Discussion.

10.00 a. m.—Conference on Far Eastern history, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman, ———.

"The Mid-Victorian Attitude of Foreigners in China," F. W. Williams, Yale University.

"American Scholarship in Chinese History," K. S. Latourette, Denison University.

"Twenty Years of Party Politics in Japan, 1897-1917," W. W. McLaren, Williams College.

"The History of Naturalization Legislation in the United States, with Special Reference to Chinese and Japanese Immigration," Sydney L. Gulick, New York City.

10.00 a. m.—Conference on South American history, Bellevue-Stratford.

2.30 p. m.—Annual business meeting, Bellevue-Stratford.

Reports of officers and committees.

Election of officers.

4.00 p. m.—Visit to Old Time Philadelphia.

6.00 p. m.—Subscription dinner conference for members interested in Far Eastern history, Franklin Inn, Camac and St. James Street.

8.15 p. m.—Joint conference with the American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, and American Sociological Society, Bellevue-Stratford.

"The British Commonwealth," Hon. R. H. Brand, Deputy Vice-Chairman of the British War Mission.

"Pan German Use of History," Wallace Notestein, University of Minnesota.

"Economic Alliances," Edward P. Costigan, United States Tariff Commission.

#### NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE.

##### WAR SUPPLEMENTS.

Commencing with the January issue each number of THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE will contain a supplement supplied through the National Board for Historical Service. These supplements will vary in size from four to twenty-four pages, and will contain outlines, special bibliographies, maps, and other aids relating to the war and its connection with the teaching of history. The first supplement, to appear with the January number, will consist of a topical syllabus or outline of the history of the war, by Prof. Samuel B. Harding, of the University of Indiana. It will be of service to those who wish to make a systematic study of the war or to present such a study to their classes. Other supplements will contain important documentary material, lists of general and special reading, with descriptive and critical comment, maps of the principal military operations, etc.

##### DEPARTMENT OF QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

A department of queries and answers under the editorship of the National Board for Historical Service will be inaugurated in the January number of the MAGAZINE. This department will be open to all teachers of history, but queries must relate to the history of the war, and more especially to the teaching of history and the war. Queries may be sent to the editor of the MAGAZINE or to W. G. Leland, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The services of historical scholars have been secured for this department, and queries will be answered as soon as possible after their receipt. The most typical or important queries and their answers will be published in THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE; other queries will be answered by letter.

##### UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

The United States Bureau of Education Teachers' Leaflet No. 1 on the war and history teaching in the secondary schools has been distributed to over 20,000 teachers and educational officials by the Bureau of Education. Single copies may be had by teachers of history upon application to the Bureau of Education or to the National Board for Historical Service. Teachers desiring copies in bulk should apply to the Superintendent of Public Documents, who has them for sale at a nominal price.

Other teachers' leaflets on the war and the teaching of history, civics, and geography in the elementary schools are being prepared under the direction of Prof. J. M. Gambrill, and will shortly be issued by the Bureau of Education.

##### NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE.

A meeting of the National Board for Historical Service was held in Washington on November 9 and 10, at which the following new members were elected to the Board: Profs. A. C. Coolidge, of Harvard University; Dana C. Munro, of Princeton; William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania; Samuel B. Harding, of the University of Indiana; William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, and Wallace Notestein, of the University of Minnesota.

Prof. Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, was chosen chairman of the Board; Prof. D. C. Munro, vice-chairman, in place of Profs. J. T. Shotwell and C. H. Hull, who asked to be relieved from duty because of inability to remain in Washington during the coming year. Professor Munro, the new vice-chairman, has already taken up residence in Washington, and the new chairman, Professor Greene, will do so in the near future.

The Board was further reorganized by the appointment of committees, as follows:

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**—Messrs. Greene, Munro, Jameson, Leland, Ford.

**COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.**—Messrs. Greene, Fish, H. Johnson, J. M. Gambrill, A. E. McKinley.

**COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH.**—Messrs. Shotwell, Coolidge, Dodd, Turner, Jameson, Munro, Wm. E. Lingelbach.

**COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY AND RECORDS.**—Messrs. Leland, Hunt, Connor, G. M. Dutcher, Hull.

**COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.**—Messrs. Ford, Clark, Harding, Hazen, Notestein.

The Executive Committee was given authority to act in the name of the Board, and its members will reside in Washington during the war.

#### COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION.

A word of explanation is due the many teachers who have applied to the Board or to the Committee on Public Information for the pamphlets published by the latter. So far as possible such requests have been complied with, but the demand for these pamphlets has been so great (aggregating several million copies) that the Government Printing Office has been unable to keep pace with it, and the Committee on Public Information has recently made arrangements with a large printing house which will greatly increase the supply of the pamphlets. Before long the committee hopes to fill all the orders that it has so far received, but in the meantime it bespeaks the indulgence and patience of those who ask it for material.

An interesting article on the personnel and the work of the Committee on Public Information is printed in the "Review of Reviews" for November, 1917.

#### PRIZE ESSAY CONTESTS.

Attention is here called to the fact that the Prize Essay Contest, in all states in which this competition has been organized, will close January 1, 1918. To allow for delays of mail delivery, this rule will be interpreted to admit to the contests all essays which bear the postmark of December 31. The contests are confined to the teachers in the public elementary and secondary schools of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Tennessee, Virginia, Wisconsin, and the city of Cincinnati. Essays submitted to these fourteen state contests should be sent to W. G. Leland, secretary, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.; those entered in the Cincinnati contest should be addressed to Frank P. Goodwin, Denton Building, Cincinnati, O. Essays should not be signed, but each essay should be accompanied by a slip containing the name, address, and teaching position of the writer. This last is important in order that each essay may be considered in its proper group. The names of the writers will not be communicated to the committees of award until after the decisions are made. The members of these committees of award in each state will be persons competent to judge historical papers and well-known to most of the teachers of the state. As has been before announced, the essays which secure the first prizes in each contest will be considered for the additional prizes of \$75 each to be awarded to the best essay in each group.

A special contest for Missouri teachers has been organized under the auspices of the Missouri Committee for Historical Service. Information respecting this contest may be obtained from Prof. Jonas Viles, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

#### THE WAR AND SCHOOLS.

The officers of the Department of History of Vassar College have planned a series of informal lectures on the questions at issue in the present war and the relation between the past and these present conditions. The topics of the lectures are as follows: "What Is Modern History?" by Lucy M. Salmon; "The Freedom of the Seas," by Ida Carleton Thallon; "Places in the Sun," by Violet Barbour; "Neutral or Ally?" by C. Mildred Thompson; "Old and New Boundary Disputes," by Eloise Ellery; "Macedonia—The Apple of Discord," by Lucy E. Textor; and "Poland," by James Fosdick Baldwin.

County superintendents of schools in many parts of the country are issuing appeals and instructions to the teachers under them suggesting the course of action for teachers in the present war situation. Dr. Samuel Hamilton, County Superintendent of Allegheny County, Pa., has urged the continuation of the war garden movement; the use of the domestic science equipment in the preservation of food; the support by the schools of the Junior Red Cross; the boys' working reserve and the soldiers' library fund. Dr. Hamilton also urges the study in English classes in the high school of President Wilson's admirable state papers, which he says are "possibly not surpassed by any English classic now studied in our schools."

A new national anthem entitled, "America, My Country," has been issued. The words are by J. K. Grondahl and the music by E. F. Maetzold. Words and music can be obtained from music dealers generally, or from the publishers, the Red Wing Printing Company, Red Wing, Minn.

War saving on text-books can be accomplished by ordering the year's supply in January instead of June and July, according to a recent note of the United States Bureau of Education. Winter ordering of books would make possible the establishment of uniform hours of work and rates of pay in the school book business. It would save machinery and conserve human energy by establishing a uniform production and shipping of books throughout the year.

A weekly news letter of the University of North Carolina began with its issue of October 31, 1917, a series of articles upon the aims, purposes and ideals of the United States in the war. The first installment contains a statement as to "Why We Fight Germany," part of which is taken from Secretary Lane's speech entitled, "This Is Our War."

Secretary McAdoo's address delivered at the High School in Madison, Wis., October 3, 1917, has been published by the Government Printing Office. It is a stirring appeal to young America to support the cause of the country.

Pledges seem to be the order of the day. Many different forms have been issued by national and local organizations to further the thrift habit, to conserve food, to expand the farming area, to protect the supply of labor and for many other purposes. The following pledge has been adopted by the National Education Association, and has been distributed among students and teachers in many parts of the country.

"As a non-combatant I propose to render service to my country and to her allies in the following way:

"1. I will keep myself so well posted on the causes and progress of the world war that I may be a source of information and influence to others.

"2. I appreciate so thoroughly the danger of internal enemies that I will report to the proper authorities the name and location of every native or alien citizen whose



conduct or utterances indicate enmity to our country or lack of sympathy with our aims.

"3. I will do all in my power to encourage increased production of food materials, both animal and vegetable.

"4. I will cheerfully change my habits of eating so as to help conserve wheat, meat, animal fats, dairy products and sugar.

"5. I will assist in every possible way to make all succeeding liberty loans a success.

"6. I will practice economy and deny myself luxuries so that I may contribute large sums to the various necessary war philanthropies.

"7. I will help to stabilize public opinion by showing the reasonableness and necessity of the government's demands and the baselessness of the unfounded rumors relating to the war.

"8. I will be a friend and comforter to the families of soldiers and minister to their needs in every possible way.

"9. I will try to meet all the varied events of the war with patience, calmness and optimism.

"10. I will work harder and more earnestly so that I may contribute my part to make up the loss due to the withdrawals from industry of large numbers of men for the army."

The following civic creed, read by Mr. Hatch at the close of his talk at the Tufts College Teachers' Conference on October 27, was indicative of his attitude toward the purpose of the teaching of American history:

I believe in America, the land of all nations but of one nationality.

I believe in a knowledge of my country's history and a respect for her traditions, that they may continue ever to be "stepping stones unto others," as was the purpose and prayer of the Fathers.

I acknowledge my personal responsibility as a citizen of this great commonwealth, and I dedicate myself to a life of service and usefulness in the community.

I believe in America's future, as an inspired leader of democracy, and I look forward to the brotherhood of all mankind.

The Manual Arts Department of the Hughes High School, Cincinnati, O., has printed 3,000 copies of a 36-page booklet to be used as a text-book in the English and civics courses in the Cincinnati high schools. The pamphlet contains President Wilson's address to the Senate approving the League to Enforce Peace, January 22, 1917; the message to Congress of April 2, 1917; the President's Flag Day Note, Cincinnati speech, June 14, 1917; the reply to the Pope's peace proposals, August 29, 1917; the letter to the soldiers of the National Army, September 4, 1917.

The following pledge has been adopted by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, and has been widely distributed and reprinted:

"In this time of national crisis, I pledge myself to support the military, financial and economic policies of my country.

"I do this, first, because the United States stands for democracy; for the right of the people to a voice in their government. Under this government I have received a good education; I have been protected in my life and property, and I have had an opportunity to enter any activity in life for which I am fitted.

"I make this pledge, secondly, because I believe democracy, not only in the United States, but also throughout the world, is threatened by the ambitions of the German Kaiser and his advisers.

"He has established a military system whose avowed purpose is conquest;

"He has waged war by barbarous and inhuman methods, the principal sufferers of which have been helpless men and women and children;

"He has encouraged a course of instruction by which the youth of his nation have been educated to believe in force and conquest;

"He has repudiated treaties;

"He has violated all the principles of humanity and international law in his treatment of the conquered Belgians;

"He has conspired against our country while at peace with us;

"He has sought to embroil us in war with other countries;

"He has based his policy toward other nations upon falsehood and deceit.

"For these reasons I accept the judgment of the President that no man and no nation can depend upon the word or treaty of the present German government.

"For these reasons I pledge myself and my property to the cause of my country, and I will accept whatever service I am able and fitted to undertake."

The instructors in the Pasadena (California) High School are preparing a war citizenship course, including something upon the cause of the war and about twenty lessons on the war problems of the government and the schools. Copies of the outline of the course can be obtained from Mrs. W. C. Wood, Commissioner of Secondary Education, Sacramento, Cal.

Dr. Henry Reed Burch and Mr. H. W. Hoagland, of the West Philadelphia High School for Boys, report an interesting experience in an elective course in the study of the World War. This course was announced last September to meet after school hours from 2.15 to 3 o'clock four days a week. The instructors were surprised when over sixty students applied for the course. It was necessary to cut down the number to forty. The work has been organized under the following topics: Review of Modern Europe; Map Studies; Geographical Background of the War; Ethnological Background of the War; the Government of the Central Powers; the Danger Signs Since 1871; Europe from June to August, 1914; America's Relation to the War; and the American Entrance into the War.

Persons who read Prof. D. C. Munro's article in the September number of the MAGAZINE suggesting the value of Constantinople as a viewpoint for the history of Europe will be interested in learning that the same idea was adopted by Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw in a series of lectures given at King's College, University of London, during the session of 1916-17. The topics of Prof. Hearnshaw's lectures may be of use to Americans who wish to put Constantinople in its proper perspective. They are as follows:

Introductory: The Empire Before 313.

Constantine and the Conversion of the Empire.

The Schism of the Empire.

The Incursions of the Barbarians.

Justinian and the Revival of Imperial Power.

The Relapse after Justinian.

The Saracen Onslaught.

Slavonic and Bulgarian Incursions.

Leo III and the Siege of Constantinople.

The Iconoclast Controversy and Its Sequel.

The Revolt of the Papacy.

The Period of Transition, 802-867.

The Basilian Revival.

The Beginnings of Final Decline.

The Coming of the Seljuk Turks.  
 The Era of the Crusades.  
 The Latin Capture of Constantinople.  
 The Greek Restoration.  
 The Coming of the Ottoman Turks.  
 The Fall of Constantinople and the End of the Roman Empire.

The United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor calls attention to the extreme shortage of teachers which exists in the United States. Many schools have not been opened this fall owing to a lack of teachers, while other schools have been opened, but are inadequately manned. All who are interested in educational success are advised to urge competent persons to apply for school positions.

"How to Teach the World War" is discussed by Prof. Bessie Leach Priddy, of the Michigan State Normal College, in "The American Schoolmaster" for October 15, 1917 (Ypsilanti, Mich.). Prof. Priddy not only gives detailed suggestions upon class work, but also gives a brief bibliography of the war.

"The Battle Line of Democracy," issued by the Committee on Public Information (price, 15 cents), is a collection of prose and poetry relating to the world war. The selections are chosen for the use of schools and are dedicated to the children of America. The collection was begun by Secretary Franklin K. Lane, of the Interior Department. Later the editorial supervision was taken over by Prof. Guy Stanton Ford, of the Committee on Public Information. Suggestions were obtained from the National Board for Historical Service, and assistance was given by Miss Frances Davenport and Miss Elizabeth Donnan. Publishers and authors cordially granted the right to use extracts from their works. The quotations are arranged under seven headings, as follows: "The Call," "America," "Belgium," "France," "Britain," "Russia," and "Italy."

#### CURRENT PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

LISTED BY W. L. HALL, NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.

Craven, Bruce.—"Denatured History." *Journal of Education* (Boston), LXXXVI (October 11, 1917), 354.

Hawley, Hattie L.—Correlated lessons for the rural school III. A history lesson; the first Thanksgiving feast. "Popular Educator," XXXV (October, 1917), 83.

Johnson, Evelyn.—History study. "Atlantic Educational Journal," XIII (October, 1917), 94-96.

Kendall, Calvin N.—The schools and the war. "Atlantic Educational Journal," XIII (October, 1917), 65-67.

Priddy, Bessie Leach.—Teaching the world war. "The American Schoolmaster," X (October 15, 1917), 354-361.

Roberts, Effie M.—The problem method in history teaching. "Popular Educator," XXXV (November, 1917), 132-133.

Prof. A. V. Dicey writes on "Ireland as a Dominion" in the October "Nineteenth Century." He urges that no steps be taken until the present war is well over.

Henri Dacremont's "Raspoutine, Lea Magie et les Cours d'Europe," in the "Nouvelle Revue" for September, is an inquiry into the influence of this strange priest, and a comparison of his position with that of other court favorites.

## Notes from the Historical Field

Leaflet No. 44 of the (English) Historical Association for September, 1917, contains a bibliography of medieval history, 400 to 1500 A.D., prepared by Miss Beatrice A. Lees. The bibliography is divided into several sections, including bibliographies, auxiliary studies, sources, general works of references and text-books. A chronological division is also made in which are detailed reference to sources, general works of reference, text-books and special studies are given. Three periods are given, as follows: 400 to 918 A.D.; 918 to 1273; and 1273 to 1500.

An announcement has been made by the publishing firm of Doubleday, Page & Company that they contemplate entering the field of educational publications. In their introductory statement they say that the three years of war have made radical changes in the life of all nations, and that text-books on economics, history, geography and science will have to be written along new lines. They will welcome suggestions and manuscripts from authors engaged in the educational fields.

The California High School Teachers' Association has appointed a "European History Commission," the purpose of which is to investigate the status of the teaching of European history throughout the State. It is believed that there is relatively a large percentage of students who can give but one year to the study. The commission has issued a brief questionnaire requesting information upon this point from high school authorities. After obtaining this information the commission hopes to be able to make a report upon the scope and nature of such a one-year course in European history. The commission is composed of Miss Jane E. Harnett, chairman, Long Beach High School; Dr. N. A. N. Cleven, secretary, San Diego High School; Prof. Alexis F. Lange, University of California; Mr. Will C. Wood, Commissioner of Secondary Education; Prof. William A. Morris, University of California; Mr. E. J. Beringer, Sacramento Junior College; Mr. John R. Sutton, Oakland High School; Miss Sarah L. Dole, Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles; Mr. John G. Hiff, Stockton High School; Prof. Albert B. Shaw, Leland Stanford University; Miss Ruth E. McGrew, Sacramento High School; and Miss Anna Stewart, Los Angeles High School.

Prof. Walter L. Fleming has resigned his position in Louisiana State University to accept a professorship in Vanderbilt University left vacant by Prof. Sionssat's transfer to Brown.

Teachers preparing students for entrance to American colleges will be interested in looking over the entrance requirements for English colleges, universities and the English civil service which are printed in Leaflet No. 3, revised, of the (English) Historical Association. Copies can be obtained from the secretary of the association, Miss M. B. Curran, 22 Russell Square, W. C., London.

On Tuesday, October 23, the teachers of history in the Houston (Texas) High Schools met at the Central High School and organized the Houston History Teachers' Association. Fifteen persons were present, and T. H. Rogers, head of the history department of the Central High School, was elected president and A. G. Mallison secretary. The association plans to meet once a month to discuss problems of interest to the members.

The Johns Hopkins University announces the establishment of a new publication entitled, "The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Education," which will be edited by

members of the University Department of Education. Number 1 in the series is "The Correlation of Abilities of High School Pupils," by Dr. D. E. Weglein.

The History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland will hold a session at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., at 10 a. m., on Saturday, December 1st, in conjunction with the meetings of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the same region. The general topic for the history session will be "What Can the Teacher of History Do Now?" Among those who will take part in the discussion are President John H. Finley, of the University of the State of New York; Prof. Henry Johnson, Teachers' College, Columbia University; Prof. Charles D. Hazen, of Columbia University, a member of the National Board for Historical Service; Prof. William D. Guthrie, of the College of the City of New York; Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, of the Central High School, Newark, N. J.; and Mr. Horace W. Hoagland, of the West Philadelphia High School for Boys. Prof. Lucy M. Salmon, of Vassar College, is chairman of the local committee.

Teachers, who are interested in prohibition literature, will find much of value in the publications of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The office of the Board is 204 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E., Washington, D. C.

The Civic Historical Session of the Colorado Educational Association, Eastern Division, met at Denver on Thursday and Friday, November 1 and 2. The following program was presented: "The Problem Method in Teaching History," by Martha N. Kimball, Denver; "Practical Economics in the High School," by Ira F. Nestor, Denver; "The Teaching of Citizenship," by Edwin B. Smith, State Teachers' College; "The Stereopticon in History Work," by W. P. Rhodes, Denver; "What the History Teacher Can Do Now," by C. W. Bigelow, Denver; "The Bases for Permanent Peace," by C. C. Eckhardt, University of Colorado; and "Basis for the Present War," by Dr. Bemis, Colorado College. The officers of the association are: President, Archibald Taylor, Longmont; and secretary, Olin P. Lee, Longmont.

The John C. Winston Company, of Philadelphia, have announced that they are about to enter the text-book publishing field. The editorial work of the new department will be under the direction of Dr. William D. Lewis, Principal of the William Penn High School, Philadelphia. Books in process of publication include a series of young American readers, a series in community civics, works on civics for urban communities, text-book on civics for rural communities, and a series of histories for the grades.

#### NEW ENGLAND HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

The New England History Teachers' Association held its annual fall meeting Saturday, November 3, 1917, at Simmons College, Boston.

The program consisted of a discussion of "Modern Russian History and Conditions," though the list of speakers was somewhat different from that originally announced and published in the last issue of THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE.

Prof. Robert H. Lord, of Harvard University, spoke on "Some Impressions of the Recent Russian Revolution." Mr. Maurice Hindus, a Russian, spoke from the point of view of a native of that country. He expressed the conviction that Kerensky would remain in power, and that, if he remained at the helm, Russia would not make a separate peace. Dr. Earl B. Downer was the guest at luncheon. He gave an illustrated talk on his experiences in Russia. The

luncheon was the best attended in the history of the association. Seventy-six persons were present.

The association adopted resolutions upon the death of Miss Blanche Leavitt, for many years a member of the Council. The following officers were elected:

President, Harry M. Varrell, Simmons College; vice-president, George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University; secretary-treasurer, Horace Kidger, Newton Technical High School. Council—Sybil B. Aldrich, Girls' Latin School, Boston; Orrin C. Hornell, Bowdoin College; Harriet E. Tuell, Somerville High School; Alan R. Wheeler, St. George's School, Newport, R. I.

#### IOWA ASSOCIATION.

The annual session of the Iowa Society of Social Science Teachers was held in connection with the State Teachers' Association at Des Moines, November 1 and 2.

Dr. William Harrison Mace gave an address on "The High School and the War."

Prof. Ernest Horn, of Iowa University, presented the "Problem of Relative Values in Making the Course of Study in History." The material for this paper was obtained by a series of tests made by graduate students of Iowa University to discover whether the present course of study is properly arranged if the "chief purpose of teaching history is to make pupils more intelligent with respect to the crucial activities, conditions and problems of present-day life." The investigation seemed to show that, if we accept the above theory, our text-books must be rewritten.

The business session of the society was called at the conclusion of the annual six o'clock dinner, one of the very pleasant features of the organization. Here the president, Prof. Gilbert G. Benjamin, of the University of Iowa, read his formal address, taking as his topic, "Some Conventionalities in the Teaching of History." The officers for 1917-1918 were elected as follows:

President, Dr. Charles M. Meyerholz, Teachers' College, Cedar Falls; vice-president, Prof. Earle D. Ross, Simpson College, Indianola; secretary-treasurer, Miss Martha Hutchinson, West High School, Des Moines. Executive Committee—Mr. Clarence E. Nickle, East High School, Des Moines; Miss Bessie L. Pierce, University High School, Iowa City; Prof. S. G. Pattison, Coe College, Cedar Rapids.

On Friday afternoon the program took the form of a round-table, each paper being followed by general discussion. The question, "Is there a special type of American history and civics for the rural schools?" was opened by Prof. Macy Campbell, of Iowa Teachers' College, who was followed by two county superintendents of schools, Miss Jenette Lewis and Mr. Fred D. Cram. The chief points made were that:

1. Books giving due emphasis to rural governmental and social questions should be available for the over-worked rural teachers.

2. More attention should be given to local history, and to history of the Mississippi Valley than is ordinarily given to it.

3. The history of the last fifty years should be adequately presented.

In the absence of those assigned to the subject, Mr. Hugh A. Bone, principal of Sioux City High School, gave a most interesting talk on "The European Background Required by a Course in American History."

A paper which aroused much comment was read by Miss Bessie L. Pierce, of the University High School. This paper outlined a plan of "self-instruction in history" which throws the recitation into a general exercise where



every pupil is either reciting all of the time during the period or listening to one of his mates reciting, while the teacher becomes a referee to settle disputes arising between the various pairs of pupils as they carry on this self-instruction process.

A few of those who followed Miss Pierce condemned the plan unreservedly, but the opinion seemed to prevail among the members of the round-table that while this might be a very admirable method with a small group of pupils in the hands of an expert teacher, it would not be feasible in the average school.

#### KANSAS ASSOCIATION.

The Kansas History Teachers' Association held a meeting on November 8 in connection with the Kansas State Teachers' Association. Prof. Davis Snedden, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, spoke upon "Needed Readjustments in History Teaching," urging a radical reorganization of the history course. Mr. Raymond A. Kent spoke upon "The Teaching of History in the Elementary Schools," and discussion was had upon the topic, "What History and How Much Shall be Given and How Much Shall be Required in the High School?" The general opinion seemed to be that a year of American history should be required, and at least one year of European history should precede the American history. A paper was read by Miss Sadie Van Aken, pointing out what readjustments of history teaching were made necessary by the world war. Reports were received from committees upon the teaching of history in the Kansas elementary schools and on reference books for high school libraries. Both of these committees were continued for another year. The officers chosen were as follows: President, Miss Mary Alice Whitney, State Normal School, Emporia; vice-president, Mr. W. S. Robb, principal of the Dickinson County High School, Chapman; and secretary-treasurer, Miss Marcia Brown, of Lawrence.

#### OHIO HISTORY TEACHERS.

The fourth session of the Ohio History Teacher's Association was held on Friday and Saturday, November 2 and 3, at the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Building, Columbus. The Friday afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of Ohio history. Papers were read upon "What Can Be Done to Promote the Collection and Publication of Materials and Monographs Relating to the History of Ohio and the Old Northwest;" and "Ohio Historiography Since the Civil War." Prof. H. C. Hockett reported from the committee upon a source book of Ohio history. On Friday evening the following papers were presented: "The Teaching of Medieval History," by Prof. L. Thorndike; "History With Pick and Spade," by Prof. S. C. Derby. A report from the committee on the teaching of history in high schools was presented by Prof. T. G. Hoover. Saturday morning session included a very comprehensive program, as follows: "The Ethical Value in History," by Miss Grace H. Stivers and Mr. R. W. Wells; "The Events to be Emphasized as Causes of the Present War," by E. M. Benedict; "Scholarships and Fellowships in Ohio Colleges," by Mr. V. Martz; "Improvements in Our Recent Text-books on Ancient History," by Miss M. Aborn; "Improvements in Our Recent Text-books on Medieval and Modern History," by Mr. G. Detrick; "Improvements in Our Recent Text-books on American History," by Mr. H. Gallen and Mr. D. M. Hickson. At the business meeting which followed, officers for the ensuing year were elected: President, Mr. C. C. Barnes, of Marion, O.; secretary-treasurer, Mr. Carl Wittke, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

#### TUFTS COLLEGE HISTORY CONFERENCE.

The conference held on October 27, 1917, was opened by Mr. Clarence D. Kingsley.

Mr. Kingsley explained the suggested change that may be made in the high school history departments. Leading up to this he outlined a combination of geography, history and civics (economic aspect). In the high school the following plan would be carried out:

Freshman year, general history to 1700, 1 unit.

Sophomore year, European history since 1700, 1 or ½ unit.

Junior year, American history and government, 1 or ½ unit.

Senior year, problems of democracy, 1 or ½ unit.

This plan would differ materially from the present schedule of:

Freshman year, ancient history.

Sophomore year, medieval and modern history.

Junior year, English history.

Senior year, American history.

Reasons that Mr. Kingsley advanced for the proposed change were as follows:

1. Few take all four courses. A selection should be made, so why not make the selection or elimination be in taking the course rather than in leaving out the entire unit?

2. The new schedule represents a better distribution of time.

3. It is possible to arrange the history to 1700 to have it more profitable than to have the entire year devoted to ancient history.

4. English history need not stand out as an individual unit, for it is a part of Europe.

Mr. Farnsworth spoke on the effect of the present war on the teaching of ancient history. He said, in general, that ancient history has been in danger of being side-tracked by new courses along with English history. The tendency has been to either drive it out altogether, or, at best, to allow it only one-half the year. The war will tend to restore the balance and re-emphasize it, for without a knowledge of the past of man one cannot understand the present.

Mr. Hatch recommended a use of the practical knowledge that the events and incidents connected with the war will afford for the teaching of American history. For instance, he suggested the use of what he termed "tangent topics" to drive home points in present history as well as past. Tariff conditions and regulations could well be taught in connection with the present sugar shortage, and elections should be taught when the November elections are taking place, rather than in the order in which the subject is listed in the course of study.

The feeling of internationalism, and a wider sympathy for other nations will be fostered by the experiences and knowledge of the present war.

Mr. Hatch suggested, too, that together with a judicial use of the current happenings as material for history teaching, the New England Association report of the Committee of Seven was still as good as it was in 1903.

The effect of the war on the teaching of economic history was discussed by Mr. Tirrell.

He defined economic history as it is usually thought of, as being commercial and industrial history, though it really is much broader, he stated. The question was then raised if the war would not serve to broaden the usual interpretation of the term, for is the commercial and is the industrial phase of life the most important? The thing that ought to stand out, that getting a living is not the greatest mo-

tive in life, but something deeper, has been shown by the war. Before this, people had thought that a war could not possibly last more than six months, but this has shown what people can accomplish when they really want to and have to. History is the life of the world, and includes all things. The thing to be decided in the future is whether such a union as has been proposed by the Allies at different times, one which will exclude the Central Powers, can be carried out. This lies distinctly in the realm of economic history.

Miss Raymenton spoke of the changes both in the attitude toward and the teaching of English history which have been or will be effected by the war. In summarizing, it was stated:

Recent developments have already affected, and ought to continue to affect, the teaching of English history as follows:

1. By awakening the pupils.
2. By awakening the teachers.
3. By effecting a change from the old "question and answer" and "topical" methods to the "forum" method of recitation.
4. By changing the character of the text-books.
5. By making of English history a subjective rather than an objective study.
6. By emphasizing "cause and effect," particularly the latter, and thus making of even high school English history a science, and an aid to American citizenship.

The effect of the war upon the teaching of European history was discussed by Miss Tuell. She said in part:

From being an object of suspicion history has become an object of consideration, and this is the opportunity of the history teacher. Since the war the reorganization of history has become the work of the history teacher. In order to accomplish this, the following things must be borne in mind and emphasized:

1. An enlargement of our geographical vision.
2. Sympathy with other nations must be stressed.
3. Revision of our views of historic characters.
4. New devotion to the cause of democracy.
5. History must be made to be, as Napoleon said, "The torch of truth, the destroyer of prejudice."

Following the presentation of these talks there was general discussion, and criticisms and suggestions were offered also by Mr. Edwin J. Cox, of Newtonville, and Miss Gladys Adams, of the Beverly High School.

#### MARYLAND ASSOCIATION.

A history conference was held in connection with the annual meeting of the Maryland State Teachers' Association at Baltimore on Monday and Tuesday, November 26 and 27, Dr. P. L. Kaye, of Baltimore City College, presiding. The Monday afternoon session discussed the effect of the war on the teaching of history, and papers were presented by Prof. J. H. Latane, of Johns Hopkins University, and Prof. C. W. Stryker, of St. John's College. The Tuesday afternoon session took up problems connected with history in the high school. Among those who took part in the program were Prof. C. E. Adams, of Baltimore Polytechnic Institute; Miss Mary C. Ott, of the Boys' High School, Frederick; Miss L. J. Cairner, of the Western High School, Baltimore; Dr. F. R. Blake, of Baltimore City College, and Mr. G. L. Fleagle, of Smithburg, Md.

## Periodical Literature

EDITED BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

"The Real Problem of Alsace and Lorraine," according to Sydney Brooks ("North American" for November), lies in the material resources of those lands, including particularly the mines, which have been developed as a result of German occupation. The loss of these means an irreparable blow to Germany's prosperity and success, which would be partly counteracted by using German coal to smelt French ore. It is, however, to the interest of both to block this. If it is left open and large and profitable commercial relations are recreated between France and Germany, there is great danger that France may be again drawn into a German net.

Among the many articles appearing on the Russian Revolution, that by Raymond Reconly (Captain X) on "The Russian Army and the Revolution" in November's "Scribner's" is certainly one of the most vivid, being the record of an alert and trained eye-witness.

Prof. Kuno Franke discusses "Germany in Defeat" in the November "Harper's," and explains certain points in his former article in the September number of the magazine. He says: "Whatever existence fate may have in store for a defeated Germany—however impoverished, however gagged, however mutilated—the spirit manifested by the German people in the martyrdom of this war, gives assurance that even in a complete breakdown of its international position, it will not deviate from adherence to its traditional ideal of the subordination of individual happiness to common task."

President Lyman P. Powell, of Hobart College, has an interesting article entitled, "Source of Education in England and France," in the November "Review of Reviews."

The article on "The Cost of the War" in the current number of "The Unpopular Review," states that "the nations as a whole could not and have not mortgaged their future wealth so as to burden themselves very seriously; about all they could do in this way was to establish by their war debts a different distribution of their future wealth. While this may be a burden on the debtor nations and may embarrass industry to some extent, it will not greatly diminish the amount of wealth produced in the future."

Louise E. Matthaei's article on "Domestic Politics in Hungary" ("Contemporary Review" for October) deals with the question of Hungarian politics and the relation this bears to Magyar caste feeling and the marvellous Magyar caste solidarity. This is an able exposition of the situation in Hungary, and expresses the nation's hopes and the ability of the new king to win the confidence of this group of his subjects.

In the November "Forum," Hon. Champ Clark replies to criticisms of Congress in his article, "Democracy is Safe."

"Armenia and the Armenians," by His Excellency Ismail Kemal Bey, in the "Fortnightly Review" for October, deals particularly with the attitude of the Turkish government to the Armenians under Sultan Abdul el Hamid, who by his actions and methods of governing these subjects, caused so much misery and lost the confidence of the Armenians.

Most interesting is Rose G. Kingsley's "Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem" ("Edinboro Review" for October), which traces the history of the order from the days of Constantine to its activities in the present war.

Prof. George L. Kittredge's "A Case of Witchcraft" ("American Historical Review" for October) deals mainly with Devonshire cases under Elizabeth, which cases, he says, include all or most of the typical features of English witchcraft cases.

In the issue of "America" for November 10, A. Hilliard Atteridge writes on "The Cause of the Irish Martyrs" who were put to death for their religion in the days of the Irish persecutions in the Tudor and Stuart ages.

## BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

JOHNSON, ROSSITER. *The Fight for the Republic*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. Pp. viii. 404. \$2.50.

The present war is causing a revival of the study of military history. Students must necessarily obtain much of their detailed military information by reference work. This recent publication, a history of the greatest war waged in this hemisphere, is especially adapted for supplementary reading. It is "a narrative of the more noteworthy events in the War of Secession presenting the great contest in its dramatic aspects." The book has several admirable features. Its chapter divisions by battles and campaigns makes it possible for the student to read understandingly this or that chapter without digesting the entire book. The military information is lucidly given. Each battle or campaign is accompanied by excellent maps, showing in detail the positions and movements of the armies. The personal incidents introduced here and there attract the immature student to whom bare military operations may not at first appeal. The book is well-bound and printed on glossless paper in bold type.

The great criticism of the book is that it is written entirely from the Northern standpoint, in the spirit of '61; not that the military facts are distorted to please the Northern reader, but that credit given to the Army of the Confederate States and its supporters is conspicuously lacking. The introduction, a summary of the political events preceding the war, presents the South entirely as the unprovoked aggressor. Little sympathy is shown for our Confederate brothers, no word of admiration is given for Lee at Appomattox, no expression of regret in the two chapters on Sherman's invasion of the South, no deprecatory statement about Sherman's "bummers" except the scant recognition that "no doubt the foragers exceeded their instructions in some instances." At times the author apparently tries to vindicate the tactics and valor of the Union forces. Of course, there is no need of this. Praise of the Confederate army and its commander would not detract from the glory of the Union arms. It seems a pity that fifty years after the close of the fratricidal war such a complete and convenient one-volume history of the war could not have been written in a more impartial and conciliatory manner. The tone is disappointing even to a student bred in Yankee New England.

WAYNE EDWARD DAVIS.

The Mercersburg Academy.

THE WAR OF DEMOCRACY: THE ALLIES' STATEMENT. Chapters of the Fundamental Significance of the Struggle for a New Europe. Prepared by Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, and others. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1917.

The second part of the title is somewhat misleading, for while the book contains statements more or less official and

authoritative, by various British, French and Belgian statesmen and scholars who present the aims of their own nations, of Serbia and of other small States, yet there is nothing from Italy or about Italy's aspirations, and nothing at all concerning the ambitions of monarchical or of republican Russia. These omissions may partially be explained at least by the obvious fact that none of the articles in the compilation were prepared in 1917, that only a few belong to 1916, and that the greater number are dated 1915. Some of the material has been in print before, either in magazines, in newspapers, in the pamphlets issued by the Oxford University Press, or elsewhere. Little of it is really new or fresh, and much of it, such as Mr. Balfour's remarks about the Navy and the War and Mr. Lloyd-George's interview in the "Secolo" are quite "old-sounding" to us. The chapters of interest, we would say, are those written by Sir Edward Grey on "Great Britain's Measures Against German Trade," by M. Henri Hauser on "Economic Germany," by G. M. Trevelyan on the "Serbians and Austria," and by M. Helmer, of Alsace, on "German Rule in That Reichsland." The first of these, together with the articles on "Belgic Neutrality and Germans in Belgium," and the death of Edith Cavell might give some useful notes for a student of international law. Nothing in the compilation that is very definite is at all official, and nothing that is at all official is very definite. It can not then be fairly called the "Allies' Statement," though it does somewhat successfully bring out the significant issues of the great struggle, thereby justifying to this extent the explanation of its purpose given on its title page. It is a question, therefore, how far a well-stocked library may need this book, especially if the library in question has available material on the subjects of the stronger articles in this compilation; a small library without much of a war collection might easily find a use for it. There is no index and the only map inserted is a roughly sketched one.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

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THORNDIKE, LYNN. *History of Medieval Europe*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. xxi, 682. \$2.75.

Designed for the undergraduate and general reader, this book embodies the conclusions respecting emphasis and content that ten years' experience in teaching medieval history to freshmen at Western Reserve University has brought the author. The subject of medieval Europe is treated "as a whole and made to hang upon a single thread," and the military and the dynastic aspects of political history are subordinated to accounts of economic and social progress. More attention is given than in previous treatises of this sort to the states of central and eastern Europe because those regions are the ancestral homes of our many citizens of Slav and Magyar stock. A few of his chapters as that on the barbarian invasions seem to lack adequacy of organization, and mental confusion rather than order for the reader results. But in general the author's literary style is effective and attractive, for he is both lucid and interesting, introducing advantageously into his narrative both anecdotal and other human-interest elements. With various helps for the reader the book is well supplied; each chapter closes with a list of specific readings, and for more extended bibliographies the reader is given a page of references under the label, "List of Guides in Historical Reading." Exercises and problems are set for the guidance of the student in the use of some of this reference material, and a six-page "Chronological Table" assists him to keep his time sense correct. Of the twenty-four maps many are out of the ordinary as to subject matter and all are serviceable. The book is neither designed nor suitable for high-school use as a text, but is admirably suited for reference work for high-school pupils. For this use a superlative help is afforded by the forty-one pages of index in which the principal references are black lettered.

WOOLF, CECIL W. SIDNEY. *Bartolus of Sassoferrato, His Position in the History of Medieval Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press, 1913. Pp. xxiv, 414. \$2.50.

This learned work, which contains an excellent bibliography (pp. xiii-xix), was awarded the Thirwall Prize in 1913. It is a discursive endeavor, instigated by Dr. Figgis, to extract from the legal writings of a once celebrated fourteenth-century leigist the political theories implicit in his thought. The book is of real interest to students of medieval law—a subject of fascination and value, but its direct light upon medieval political theory may be surmised from the author's statement that Bartolus devoted "his political thought, in all its most valuable aspects, wholly to topics in which the spiritual power does not enter" (p. 211).

G. C. SELLERY.

University of Wisconsin.

HAZEN, CHARLES DOWNER; THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE; AND LORD, ROBERT HOWARD. *Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century*.

COOLIDGE, ARCHIBALD CARY. *Claimants to Constantinople*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917. Pp. 93. 75 cents.

The essays in this little volume were read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at the close of 1916. They do not purport to be complete accounts in full detail. But the authors do present interesting and brilliantly written pictures of many important phases of the three great peace conferences. The last essay is a remarkably good summary of the immediate past and present situation with regard to Constantinople. All the essays are written by

men of high standing in the historical profession. The book is well worth purchase by librarians, and may be used to advantage in high school classes.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

Ohio State University.

OGG, FREDERICK AUSTIN. *Economic Development of Modern Europe*. The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. xvi, 657. \$2.50.

The progressive teacher either of modern European history or of economics will welcome this volume, and will find it supplies much of the concrete description of conditions with which he will like to replace the drum and trumpet history that is now passing. Had more economics and less drum and trumpet history been taught during the last quarter century in England and America, we should be far more able to meet the necessities which our war for democracy has now imposed upon us. To wage war, economic soundness is more important than Chauvinistic ambition.

The major portion of the book is devoted to the nineteenth century, the changes in economic conditions between the middle ages and modern times being presented in about one hundred pages. This transitional exposition is called Part I. Part II describes agriculture, trade, transportation, and industry; Part III, the movement and growth of population and of labor organization and legislation; Part IV of socialism and social insurance. At the end of each chapter are several pages of selected references to the literature of the subject treated in the chapter; throughout the book are helpful footnotes; and at the end are fifteen pages of index.

Such a work as this will give real aid to those who would have us discuss economic and social problems frankly and fully, but with our feet on the ground of solid information, however far into idealism our heads may reach. There is no greater danger to sound education in America than that which comes from the large number of teachers in colleges and schools who are printing a different sort of work, a statement of what they would like to see society become; a statement formulated with no reference whatever to the limitations which all the past history of man has placed on what reasonable people believe the present man and his society are capable of.

EDGAR DAWSON

Hunter College, New York City.

ORTON, C. W. PREVITE. *Outlines of Medieval History*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. Pp. 585. \$2.75.

In these days when publishers label a volume of twelve hundred pages a "Short History," we doubtless should expect that "Outlines" would mean more than a brief sketch or syllabus and be prepared to find that this book is not a compendium but a close-packed narrative of nearly six hundred pages. The author, a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, whose earlier work, "The Early History of the House of Savoy," attested his erudition, has adopted for this work the conventional limitations for the medieval period, 395 and 1492, and has followed convention, too, in his selection of material, the political phases of the subject receiving the principal emphasis. The book is scholarly rather than popular in treatment with respect to both language and ideas, and the anecdotal possibilities of historical narrative are not attempted in the least. For these reasons, though the quality of its scholarship is excellent, it is not as good as some other treatises as supplementary reading for high school pupils. More advanced students will find it a valuable aid, rendered more helpful by its twenty-five pages of index and seven double page maps.

TRIMBLE, WILLIAM. *Introductory Manual for the Study and Reading of Agrarian History*. Fargo, N. D., 1917. Pp. 47. 35 cents.

This list of references and suggestions for a survey of the history of agriculture from the earliest times to the present is divided into three parts. The first of these deals with ancient and medieval agriculture, the latter being treated as a whole and the former by regions and periods. Of many of the works cited in these and the succeeding lists a few words of critical appraisal are given. Part two is concerned with the modern period in the sections of the agricultural world outside our own country, with which part three has to do. This last section, dealing with the United States, provides material for a more detailed study than the earlier sections have done, and the references are classified under a dozen headings. Though the author declares the work tentative and incomplete, it is sufficient to display a comprehensive grasp of the literature of this aspect of history, and to be a substantial help to those who work in its field.

GARRETT, MITCHELL BENNETT. *The French Colonial Question, 1789-1791. Dealings of the Constituent Assembly with Problems Arising from the Revolution in the West Indies*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr, 1916. Pp. iv, 167. \$1.25.

This book appears to be a doctoral dissertation prepared after extensive research, both in America and Europe. The author was unlucky enough to have delved very deeply into a subject which another person was studying. The other person published the results of her research first, and so left the present author a chance to show his erudition only on a side line rather than his main subject, the life of Barnave. This was a real misfortune, for the quality of the present book suggests that the author could have done very well on the broader subject. The book is a good contribution to the history of slavery and of the French Revolution in the West Indies, but its subject is too restricted for use as a high school reference book. Hence it is not recommended for purchase by school librarians.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

Ohio State University.

HAZEN, CHARLES DOWNER. *Modern European History*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917. Pp. xiv, 650. \$2.00.

Professor Hazen's Europe since 1815 has already won him such staunch friends among teachers of history and the general public that this briefer work covering the broader field of the last two hundred years will receive a warm welcome. The present work has the merits of the earlier one. It is scholarly and accurate, well-organized, and very readable and interesting. The author's statements are never hazy or confused. In addition, he has started with a survey of the eighteenth century, and so given us a book that can be used for high school reading more readily than the earlier one. The only serious objection to the work is its failure to lay enough stress on the industrial revolution and the social and economic side of history in general. Political history receives the emphasis. The book contains a large number of excellent illustrations. It will be very useful for high school students and librarians should provide duplicate copies.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

Ohio State University.

Mr. D. J. Jardine's experiences, "At the Coronation of the Empress Uizero Zanditu of Abyssinia" ("Blackwood's" for October), are all the more interesting because they are prefaced by a brief historical sketch of this little-known country.

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#### BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM SEPTEMBER 29 TO OCTOBER 27, 1917.

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

##### AMERICAN HISTORY.

Academy of Political Science. The foreign relations of the United States. 2 vols. N. Y.: The Academy. 331, 129 pp. \$1.50.

Blaisdell, A. F., and Ball, F. K. American History for Little Folks. Boston: Little Brown. 138 pp. 75 cents, net.

Buck, Solon J. Illinois in 1818. Springfield, Ill.: Ill. Centennial Com. 362 pp. (5 pp. bibls.).

Burton, M. Agnes, editor. Manuscripts from the Boston Historical Collection, No. 1-4. Detroit, Mich.: C. M. Burton. 144 pp. 50 cents.

Clark, Charles E. My fifty years in the navy. Boston: Little Brown. 346 pp. \$2.50, net.

Dickson, Harris. The unpopular history of the United States by Uncle Sam himself. [Some of the less admirable pages of American history.] N. Y.: Stokes. 162 pp. 75 cents, net.

Faris, J. T. Old Roads Out of Philadelphia. Phila.: Lippincott. 327 pp. \$4.00, net.

Leffman, Henry. The true story of the Declaration of Independence. Phila.: City Hist. Soc., 1623 Chestnut St. 21-35 pp. 25 cents, net.

Lippincott, Horace M. Early Philadelphia; its people, life and progress. Phila.: Lippincott. 339 pp. \$6.00, net.

Pearson, C. C. The readjuster movement in Virginia. New Haven, Ct.: Yale Univ. 191 pp. \$2.00, net.

Peixotto, E. C. A revolutionary pilgrimage. N. Y.: Scribner. 369 pp. \$2.50, net.

Peterson, A. E., and Edwards, G. W. New York as an eighteenth century municipality. N. Y.: Longmans. 199 + 205 pp. (bibls.). \$4.00 spec., net.

Samuel Bissell Memorial Library Assn. Twinsburg, Ohio, 1817-1917. Twinsburg, Ohio: The Association. 533 pp. \$5.00, net.

Talkington, H. L. Outline for the Study of Idaho. Boise, Idaho: State Bd. of Education. 20 pp.

Thompson, C. Manfred. History of the United States. Boston: B. H. Sanborn & Co. 540 pp. \$1.60.

Zahm, J. A. The quest of El Dorado. [Collection of legends about El Dorado.] N. Y.: Appleton. 260 pp. \$1.50, net.

##### ANCIENT HISTORY.

Cæsar, C. Julius. The Gallic War. [Loeb Class. Lib.] N. Y.: Putnam. 619 pp. \$1.50, net.

Dio, C. Cassius. Dio's Roman History. Vol. 5. [Loeb Class. Lib.] N. Y.: Putnam. 525 pp. \$1.50, net.

##### ENGLISH HISTORY.

Hammond, M. O. Canadian Confederation and its leaders. N. Y.: Doran. 333 pp. \$2.50, net.

Russell, G. W., and others. The Irish home-rule convention. N. Y.: Macmillan. 183 pp. 50 cents.

##### EUROPEAN HISTORY.

Collier, Theodore F. A syllabus of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Providence, R. I.: Kensmore Press. 36 pp. (3 pp. bibls.). 60 cents.

Jones, Stinton. Russia in Revolution. N. Y.: McBride. 279 pp. \$1.50, net.

Marriott, J. A. R. The Eastern question. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 456 pp. (bibls.). \$5.50.

Schierbrand, Wolf von. Austria-Hungary. N. Y.: Stokes. 352 pp. \$3.00, net.

##### THE GREAT WAR.

American Red Cross. War Council. The work in Europe of the American Red Cross. Wash., D. C.: (The Author). 68 pp.

Bell, F. M. The first Canadians in France. N. Y.: Doran. 308 pp. \$1.35, net.

Clifton, Shelton A. On the road from Mons. N. Y.: Dutton. 163 pp. \$1.25, net.

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Gerard, James W. My Four Years in Germany. N. Y.: Doran. 448 pp. \$2.00, net.

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Martin, E. S. The diary of a nation; the war and how we got into it. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page. 407 pp. \$1.50, net.

Murray, Col. A. M. The "fortnightly" history of the war. N. Y.: Stokes. 403 pp. \$3.00, net.

Out of their own mouths; utterances of German rulers, statesmen [etc.]. N. Y.: Appleton. 254 pp. \$1.00, net.



- Simonds, Frank H. *History of the World War*. Vol. 1. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page. 393 pp. \$3.50.  
 Stevenson, W. Yorke. *At the front in a flivver*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 257 pp. \$1.25, net.  
 Toynbee, A. J. *The murderous tyranny of the Turks*. N. Y.: Doran. 26 pp. 5 cents.  
 Viviani, René, and Joffre, J. J. C. *Addresses in the United States*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page. 149 pp. \$1.25, net.

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

- Previté Orton, C. W. *Outlines of medieval history*. N. Y.: Putnam. 585 pp. \$2.75, net.  
 Thorndyke, Lynn. *The history of medieval Europe*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 682 pp. (bibls.). \$2.75, net.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

- Botsford, G. W., and Botsford, J. B. *A brief history of the world*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 518 pp. (bibls.). \$1.50, net.  
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 Fairgrieve, James. *Geography and World Power*. N. Y.: Dutton. 356 pp. \$1.50, net.  
 Herrick, Cheesman A. *History of commerce and industry*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 562 pp. (bibls.). \$1.60, net.  
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#### BIOGRAPHY.

- Sanborn, Helen J. *Anne of Brittany*. Boston: Lothrop, Lee and Shepherd. 252 pp. \$2.00, net.

- Strong, Theron G. Joseph H. Choate. N. Y.: Dodd Mead. 390 pp. \$3.00, net.  
 Rye, J. B., and Groser, H. G. *Kitchener in his own words*. N. Y.: Stokes. 588 pp. \$3.50 net.  
 Hamilton, J. G., and Hamilton, M. T. *The life of Robert E. Lee for boys and girls*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 209 pp. \$1.25, net.  
 Bland, J. O. P. *Li Hung Chang*. N. Y.: Holt. 327 pp. \$2.00, net.  
 Lincoln, Abraham. *Uncollected letters, now first brought together*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 264 pp. \$2.50, net.  
 Rothschild, Alonzo. "Honest Abe." [A study of the early life of Lincoln.] Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 374 pp. 10¼ pp. bibls.). \$2.00, net.  
 Tarbell, I. M. *The life of Abraham Lincoln*. (New edition with new matter.) 2 vols. N. Y.: Macmillan. 426, 475 pp. \$5.00.  
 Moran, T. F. *American Presidents*. N. Y.: Crowell. 148 pp. 75 cents, net.  
 Hall, May E. *Roger Williams*. Boston: Pilgrim Press. 212 pp. \$1.25, net.

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- Cromer, Evelyn Baring, Earl of, and others. *After war problems*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 366 pp. \$2.50, net.  
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 Leeper, D. R. *The American Idea*. Chicago: Rand McNally. 205 pp. (4 pp. bibls.). \$1.50.  
 Russell, G. W. E. *Politics and personalities*. N. Y.: Scribners. 367 pp. \$2.25, net.  
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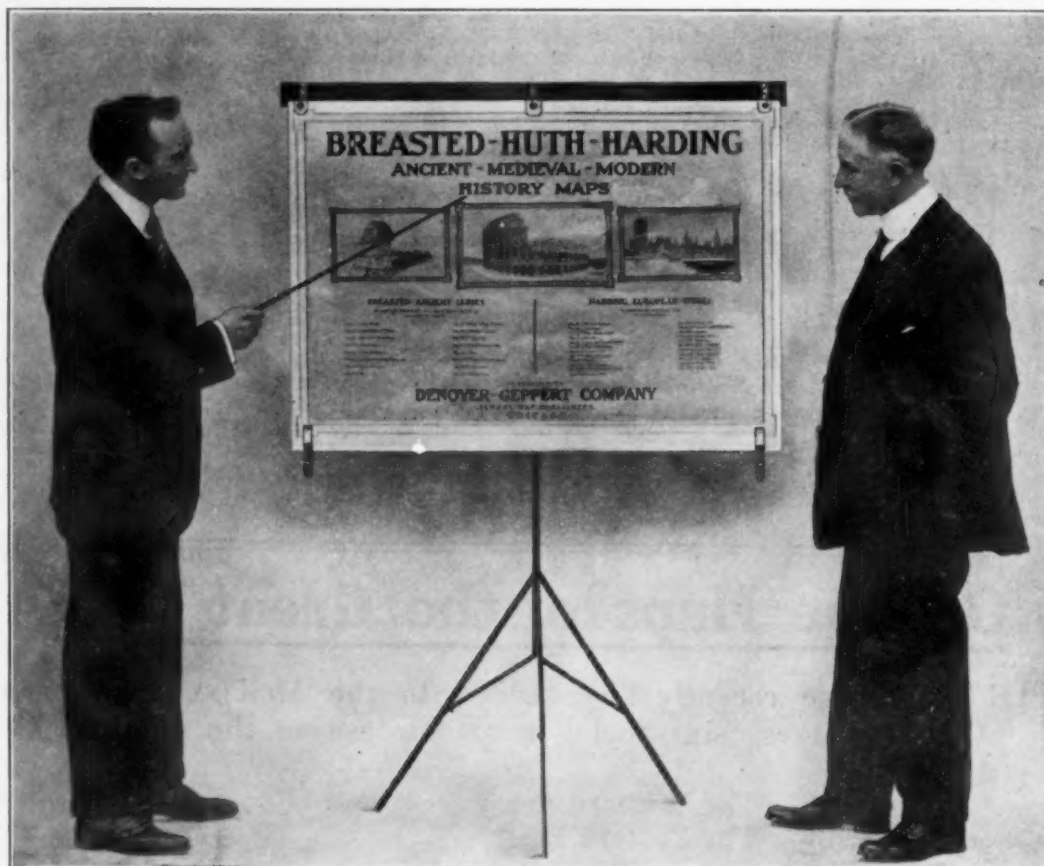
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